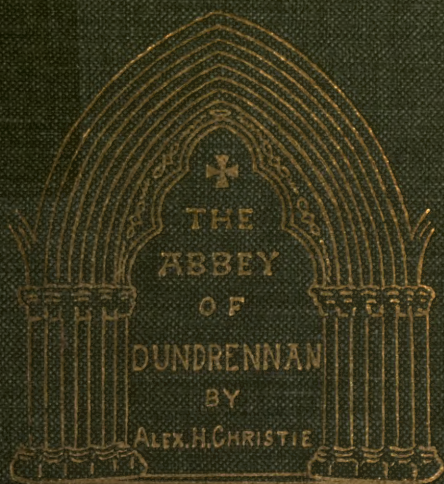


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THE ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN





THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

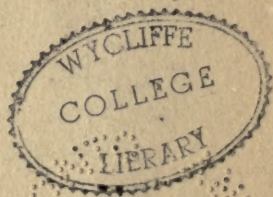
THE ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN

BY

ALEX. H. CHRISTIE, B.D.,

MINISTER OF RERRICK

—
WITH PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS
—



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PUBLISHED BY THOMAS FRASER

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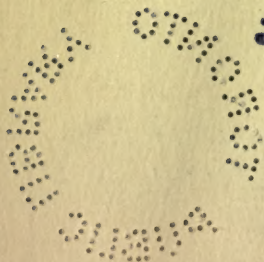
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PREFATORY NOTE.

Galloway, the extreme south-western district of Scotland, is a land of which the monastic institution once took a powerful hold. The abbeys of Dundrennan, Glenluce, Sweetheart, Soulseat, Lincluden, and Tongland, together with the priories of St Mary's Isle and Whithorn—to name the more prominent of the religious houses—all testify to the zeal of those who founded them and who gave bountifully of their substance for their support. Now these once-flourishing houses are overthrown, and so complete is the destruction of some of them that not a vestige remains. For the most part the records of these monasteries have disappeared, and their story is soon told.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to tell the story of one of them—the Abbey of Dundrennan. The charters of the abbey are not known to exist, but from various sources sufficient material has been gathered to form a highly interesting narrative. Nearly sixty years have passed since the publication of the Rev. Æneas B. Hutchison's *Memorials of the Abbey of Dundrennan*. Not much has been accomplished in the interval in the way of adding to the knowledge of the history of the abbey, but several

accounts of the ruins, mainly of architectural value, have been prepared, some of which have been read at meetings of societies of antiquaries, and are to be found in the publications of these societies.

The time seems opportune for a new account of Dundrennan Abbey. Not only is much historical matter, of which I have made considerable use, contained in the State papers published within recent times, but the Government Department under whose care the Abbey now is, in pursuance of their policy of preserving the ancient monuments of the country, are nearing the completion of a thorough examination and repair of the monastic buildings, to which they have given commendable attention for some years past.

I gratefully acknowledge the labours of those who have preceded me as workers in the same field, and wherever it has seemed necessary I have owned my indebtedness in the body of the book. I cannot name particularly every individual to whom in some measure I have been obliged, nor can I indicate every source which I have consulted in the preparation of the volume. But of one or two names I deem it my duty to make special mention here. My father, the late Rev. Dr Christie, minister of Gilmerton, as Keeper of the Library of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, gave me abundant facilities for examining the books on the shelves of the lib-

rary. The substance of Chapter I. is common to many books that narrate the history of particular Cistercian houses, but in those parts of the book which treat of the general arrangements of a monastery I have accepted as my chief authority the Right Rev. Dr F. A. Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictines.

With regard to the illustrations, I express my indebtedness to several who have given me valued assistance. Five of the half-tone illustrations (including that of the "Abbot's Monument") are reproduced from photographs taken by Mr James Scott, Dundrennan, while another (the view of the Abbey from the north-west) is from a photograph taken by Mr W. J. G. Alison, Leith. The Cistercian Monk in choir dress is a reduced reproduction of a plate in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. The illustration of the seal preserved in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey is from a photograph taken by Mr A. L. MacGibbon from a cast in the possession of Mr W. Rae Macdonald, Albany Herald; while that of the counter-seal preserved in the Treasury of Durham Cathedral is, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, from a photograph taken by Mr C. Hunter Blair. The illustration of the seal in Kirkcudbright Museum is given, with consent of the Committee, by favour of Mr J. Robison, curator of the museum. The two

plans were drawn by me, as also were all the other illustrations. I have done some excavation in the garden of Rerrick Manse which has enabled me to present a ground-plan of the monastic buildings of a greater compass than any I have yet seen.

I am much indebted to Mr Thomas Fraser for the unremitting attention which he has shown in connection with the publication of the book.

A. H. C.

RERRICK MANSE, *18th February*, 1914.

CHAPTER I.

THE CISTERCIAN REFORM.

SOME six and a half miles by road south-east of Kirkcudbright, and within two miles of the Solway Firth, stand the considerable ruins of what was once a flourishing monastery of the Order of Cistercians, the Abbey of Dundrennan. The abbey is situated in the parish of Rerrick (or Rerwick, as the name is also spelled), a name that is reminiscent of an old Norse settlement once established in these parts. Possibly Rerrick or Rerwick (or their equivalent) was the name originally given to the district when it was erected into a parish: but the dominating influence which quickly began to be exercised by the monastery of Dundrennan, planted within it soon after its erection, led to the parish also being named Dundrennan, with the result that before the Reformation both Rerrick and Dundrennan were names in common use to designate the parish. After the Reformation the memory of the monks was perpetuated in the name of Monkton, which was a designation of the parish in the seventeenth century,

and of Monkland, by which it was known in the eighteenth century and even to within recent times.¹ But through all the intervening centuries the name given by the old Norse settlers has survived, and to-day Rerrick (or Rerwick) is the designation of the parish to which official recognition is given.

If Rerrick is a word of Norse origin, Dundrennan is of Gaelic origin. The extreme south-west of Scotland, as the name "Galloway" indicates, was in early times inhabited by a Gaelic-speaking people, and through a lengthened period Gaelic was the dominant language of the district. In nothing is the Gaelic influence so manifest as in the place-names, which to a very large extent are of Gaelic origin. In his *Large Description of Galloway* (p. 33) Symson, writing in 1684, says that "neer to the Abbey is a rivulet called Greggan, from which (as some assert) the abbey, now called and pronounced Dundranen, should be called Dungreggan." This rivulet is now and has for a very long time been known by no other name than that of the Abbey Burn. It may, indeed, have had some other name before the abbey was planted beside it in the twelfth

¹ The Communion Cups presently used in the parish church in the Communion Service bear upon them the following inscription: "This and another Communion Cup given by David Currie of Newlaw, one of the Heritors, to the Parish of Rerick or Munkland, 1759."

century, but whether that name was Greggan, or whether (as Symson declares) it was called Greggan so late as the end of the seventeenth century are matters in regard to which we can offer no corroboration. But, in any case, it is not the rivulet that runs by the side of the abbey but the hill that overshadows it on the west that is supposed to be indicated by Dundrennan. *Dun-draigheanan* is Gaelic for "the fort of the thorn bushes." The name appears in a great variety of forms, and, chiefly in connection with the abbey, we have noted the following:—Dundran, Dundranen, Dundraman, Dundraynan, Dundraynen, Dundreynan, Dundrainnan, Dunrainan, Dundrynane, Dundernan, Dundreinan, Dundrineñ, Dundrinan, Dundraynon, Dundronan, Dundreinoone, Dundraven, Doundraina', Dūdrēnē, Dūdrynañe, Drūdrañe, Drundrayn, Drundrennen, Drumdranan, Drumdrenane, Drumdenane, and Drim-dennane.

No intelligent interest can be manifested in the ruins of Dundrennan Abbey without some understanding of that widespread and elaborate religious system and that particular ecclesiastical organisation that embraced the monastery of Dundrennan within them. It will be necessary, therefore, before proceeding to write of the past history of the abbey and the present state of its ruins to deal with some matters of a more general character.

Monasticism, by means of its disciplinary régime, professes to help men to the attainment of a higher religious life than is possible without it. It is not to be understood as something peculiar to Christianity. Long before the Christian era monasticism flourished in the far East. How soon the ascetic tendencies that lie at the basis of monasticism began to exhibit themselves in any definite manner in connection with the Christian Church it is not very easy to say. But it is agreed that in Egypt, in the middle of the third century, there were numerous Christian ascetics living a secluded and solitary life away from the towns: and by the commencement of the fourth century some organisation in the direction of a common life was taking shape among them. From Egypt the institution passed into Europe, and gradually established itself with the extension of Christian influence. Western monasticism, however, received its real impetus from St Benedict of Nursia. Before Benedict's time there was considerable variety in the observances of those who followed the monastic life. Some still preferred the solitary seclusion of the hermit: others chose to dwell together in communities. What Benedict did was to put an end to such variety of practice and to regularise the monastic discipline. A community under a superior henceforth became characteristic of monasticism, and a rule obligatory upon every member of the community

was deemed an essential element of the discipline whereby purity of soul and perfection of character were sought to be attained. As abbot of the monastery of Monte Casino, Benedict in the year 529 drew up a set of rules for the observance of the members of his own house, and this Rule of St Benedict was that which came to be universally adopted by the monasteries of the West, and was professed to be followed by them during the succeeding four or five centuries.

But before these four or five centuries had elapsed the monastic life had come to exhibit many grave departures from the simplicity of Benedict's rule. The monasteries had grown to be strong, wealthy and worldly. Luxury was being accompanied by its attendant evils, and these evils were showing, only too painfully, how incompatible was its pursuit with the observance of the severer discipline which lay at the very foundation of monasticism. Despite these adverse conditions, there were many good souls who cultivated a personal holiness, and grieved over the defections of their brethren. They longed for a return to earlier conditions. At last definite movements in this direction came to be made, and one of the most notable of these was that which gave rise to Cistercianism.

Cistercianism was nothing less than a movement of reform within monasticism. It was significant of

THE ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN

a revolt against the excesses in which the great majority of the monks were permitting themselves to indulge: and it was indicative of a return to that simpler life and that severer discipline enjoined by the rule of the abbot of Monte Casino. Its origin is associated with the name of Robert, abbot of Molesme. Disappointed and disgusted with the life of the monks under his charge, he retired in 1092, with about twenty others like-minded with himself, to strive in the solitude of Citeaux or Cisteaux (*Latin*, Cistercium), in the diocese of Chalons in Burgundy, after a greater fidelity to the Rule of St Benedict than he had yet been able to attain. A monastery was built and Robert was appointed abbot. He was soon succeeded in the abbacy by Alberic; but it is to the third abbot, an Englishman named Stephen Harding, that Cistercianism owes its distinguishing features. The movement, however, in its initial stages was not attended with very much success. While many freely acknowledged and even admired the sanctity of the new monks, there were few who were prepared to submit themselves to the austerities they practised. But at length an event of the highest importance in its bearing upon the fortunes of Citeaux occurred. This was the entry into the monastery, as one of its monks, of Bernard, the third son in a family of knightly rank. This young man of twenty-three years of age had received a

training in all that befitted his station in life. He was possessed of a fascinating personality. Had he chosen to follow a worldly career he would doubtless have gained as much popularity and have achieved as much success as any other of his time. But, perhaps influenced by his mother, he chose differently. Not the worldly but the religious life attracted him; and in 1113, against many entreaties, he entered Cîteaux and adopted the monkish habit. Nor did he enter the monastery alone. No fewer than thirty of his companions, animated by his zeal and inspired by his example, entered the monastery with him. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that what attracted Bernard to Cîteaux was just that very simplicity of its ritual and that severity of its discipline which had repelled others. His example and the communication of his enthusiasm to others had a remarkable effect upon the fortunes of Cîteaux. The monastery soon became overcrowded. Within two years there had to be founded no fewer than four other Cistercian monasteries by monks who, through excess of numbers, were compelled to leave the parent monastery. One of these monasteries was that of Clairvaux, and Bernard himself became its abbot: hence the name by which he is generally known, St Bernard of Clairvaux. One of the most distinguished churchmen of the middle ages, a protagonist in theological debate, and the eloquent preacher of

the Second Crusade, he is now perhaps best known to many as the author of some hymns which, in their English translation and adaptation, serve to enshrine his memory in a multitude of devout hearts.²

The movement which had received such an impetus from Bernard's connection with it continued to advance rapidly, though the ultimate progress which Cistercianism attained is not now believed to have been so extensive as was once supposed. It was common to assert that after the lapse of half a century the number of Cistercian abbeys had multiplied to five hundred, and that after the lapse of another century they had increased to as many as eighteen hundred. The latter number, at least, is now believed to have been exaggerated. Probably by the fifteenth century there were not more than seven hundred and fifty in all. The twelfth century was pre-eminently the period of the Cistercian revival, no fewer than five hundred monasteries having been founded in that century: and it is significant of the great influence of Bernard in the success of the movement that the credit of nearly half of them is ascribed to him. There were only thirty Cistercian houses at the time of the death of Stephen Harding (1134), but twenty years later, when Bernard died,

² While these hymns ("Jesus, the very thought of Thee," "Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts," and others) are commonly attributed to St Bernard, it is right to observe that many scholars deny his title to the authorship.

the number had risen to two hundred and eighty. So great an influence, indeed, did Bernard exert that the Cistercians sometimes bear the name of Bernardines.

The movement spread over the whole of the west of Europe, and in Scotland twelve abbeys belonged to the order, as well as several priories and nunneries. These abbeys, in the order of their foundation, are Melrose (founded 1136), Newbattle (1141), Dundrennan (1142), Kinloss (1156), Cupar (1164), Glenluce (1192), Deer (1200), Culross (1217), Saddell (1220), Balmerino (1229), Sweetheart (1275),³ and Mauchline, the last being a dependency of Melrose. Sometimes also Holm Cultram in Cumberland is included among the Cistercian abbeys of the Scottish province, the district of Cumberland at the time of that abbey's foundation (1150) being embraced within the boundary of the Kingdom of Scotland. Dundrennan, the third in order, stands in a very direct line of succession from the parent monastery. It was colonised by monks who came from Rievaulx in Yorkshire; Rievaulx Abbey was colonised by monks from St Bernard's monastery of Clairvaux; and Clairvaux was a direct offshoot from the original Cistercian home at Citeaux.

A brief notice of some of the Scottish abbeys may

³ A charter preserved among the Laing Charters gives the date as 1273. Pp. 13, 14.

not be uninteresting. Melrose, like Dundrennan, was colonised by monks from Rievaulx. The present abbey, however, as its ornate and elaborate architecture indicates, is of comparatively late date, the earlier buildings having been burned and destroyed. Sir Walter Scott, who made his home in its neighbourhood, has cast a spell over the beautiful old ruin, and reproduced in the ornamentation of his beloved Abbotsford many of the delicate and curious carvings of the ancient abbey. Many a time did he seat himself within the ruined chancel and gaze admiringly at its great east window, though the glamour of the place was felt most when the landscape was flooded with the soft pale light of the moon, and the gaunt edifice stood up clearly against the evening sky.

What remains there are of Newbattle are nearly all underground. Newbattle Abbey became converted into the manor-house of the family now represented by the Marquis of Lothian, but the ancient building has almost all disappeared. The crypt is still visible and can be entered by a stair leading from the entrance hall of the modern mansion. Some years ago a very thorough and systematic excavation was made, and the foundations of a very large part of the monastery were uncovered; but it was impossible to leave them exposed to view. Accurate measurements, however, were made of all

that had been discovered before the soil was restored. The Esk valley in which Newbattle stands is rich in mineral wealth; and to the Newbattle monks must be given the credit of commencing the coal-mining industry in Scotland, which now gives employment to so many thousands of its population.

The virtual disappearance of the earlier buildings of Melrose and Newbattle gives additional interest to the ruins of Dundrennan Abbey, for they represent probably the oldest remains of any of the Cistercian abbeys in Scotland. It is possible, indeed, that after obtaining the charter of foundation in 1142 some few years may have elapsed before the abbey was built; yet Dundrennan takes precedence of the others, and is considered a very good specimen of the Transitional Period in architecture, when the Norman was giving place to the First Pointed style.

Two abbeys in Galloway, in addition to Dundrennan, testify to the vigour of Cistercianism—Glenluce and Sweetheart. Of the history of Glenluce very little is known, and of the buildings not very much remains, the chief part that survives being the chapter-house. The abbey was founded by Roland, Lord of Galloway, in 1192, and it is asserted that it was colonised by monks from Dundrennan, though Melrose is also credited with the distinction. The charter of Sweetheart Abbey (often called by its Latin equivalent, Dulce Cor) is dated more than a

hundred and thirty years later than that of Dundrennan. Sweetheart was founded by Devorgilla, the daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and the wife of John Balliol, Lord of Barnard Castle. On the death of her husband in 1268 she had his body buried at Barnard Castle, but his heart was embalmed and kept in a little ivory casket beside her. A few years after his death she founded the Abbey of Sweetheart near Dumfries as an act of devotion to his memory, and on her own death in 1289 her body was laid to rest within it, and, according to her wish, there was placed above it the ivory casket containing her husband's heart. Dundrennan and Sweetheart are the two abbeys of the Cistercian order in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and they are known to this day as the Old Abbey and the New Abbey in keeping with the difference of date of their foundation. Sweetheart is now a very picturesque ruin. More of the church remains, though less of the monastic buildings, than at Dundrennan. There can be no doubt that Sweetheart was colonised by monks from Dundrennan, as in one of her charters Devorgilla grants certain lands "to God and the Church of St Mary of Sweetheart and the monks there of the Cistercian Order of the Convent of Dundrennan."⁴

To only one other of the Scottish monasteries will a passing reference be made, the Abbey of Deer in

⁴ Calendar of Laing Charters, p. 13.

Aberdeenshire. The temporalities of this abbey were annexed in the sixteenth century by George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal. This man was one of the richest and most powerful nobles of his time. He had extensive estates in Scotland. But not content with what he had, he determined to lay sacrilegious hands on the temporalities of Deer. But public opinion (if one can speak of such a thing as "public opinion" in those far-off days) was most decidedly hostile to such action. Even his wife tried to dissuade him, declaring that in a dream she had seen the monks of Deer picking with their knives the foundations of Dunnottar Castle, the family seat in Kincardineshire, and that the building had toppled over into the sea. But George Keith, Earl Marischal, was not to be withstood, and, in defiance of public opinion and contrary to the entreaties of his wife, the temporalities were annexed. And to show the defiant humour he was in, he caused to be inscribed upon the wall of the Castle the words :

" They Haif Said :
Quhat Say They ?
Lat Thame Say."

As all Aberdonians know, these words were also inscribed by him upon the wall of Marischal College, Aberdeen, which bears his name, and can still be

seen upon the single stone which is left of the original building. They form an excellent motto. There is a courageous ring about them. But, surely, they are appropriate only to a man who is blessed with a clear conscience.

It has been previously observed that it is to the third abbot of Citeaux, the Englishman, Stephen Harding, that the credit must be ascribed of giving to Cistercianism its distinguishing features. For Cistercianism was something more than a return to Benedictinism. The Benedictine monasteries were self-centred and independent institutions. Each monastery was a law unto itself. They were under no centralised government taking oversight of the whole. But Cistercianism meant the creation of a great religious order; and, while independence and self-government were enjoyed, there existed at the same time the very closest inter-relation among all its monasteries. The parent monastery of Citeaux was accorded precedence, and its abbot was head of the whole order. Every year a General Chapter was held at Citeaux under his presidency at which the superiors of all other abbeys were expected to attend, although those living at a distance, such as the Scottish abbots, might be relieved from attending with the same regularity as those who were nearer. Moreover, the abbot of Citeaux was given the privilege of visiting any monastery at any time for the

purpose of inquiring into the conduct of its affairs. By such means a general oversight of the whole order was maintained, and uniformity in all things was sought after.

The following words, attributed to St Bernard, are said to have been inscribed on some part of the walls of Cistercian houses : —“ Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, præmiatur copiosius.” Wordsworth has made effective use of the inscription in his beautiful sonnet.

“ ‘ *Here man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,
More promptly rises, walks with nicer heed,
More safely rests, dies happier, is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter crown.* ’—On yon Cistertian wall
That confident assurance may be read ;
And, to like shelter, from the world have fled
Increasing multitudes. The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart’s desires ;
Yet, while the rugged age on pliant knee
Vows to rapt fancy humble fealty,
A gentler life spreads round the holy spires ;
Where’er they rise, the sylvan waste retires,
And æry harvests crown the fertile lea.”

Simplicity and severity were the dominant notes

of Cistercianism in its period of greatest purity. With a very limited number of exceptions, the churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. They were built in a style that was not too ornate, and the tower was one only of moderate height. There was no peal of bells: a single bell was deemed sufficient. The windows might be obscured a little, but highly-stained glass was inadmissible. Pictures were not permitted upon the walls, with the exception of representations of the Saviour. The vessels of the sanctuary were not of precious metals, except some of those used in the more solemn parts of the Church's service. Even in regard to the crosses, they were not to be of silver or of gold: they were not even to be of carved wood, but only of plain wood which might be painted. The books used were only to have plain binding, and manuscripts were not to be highly ornamented. Altar-cloths and vestments were to be of linen and not of silk.

In regard to the ordinary apparel of the monks the same simplicity was observed. The material was the coarse cloth in common use among the peasants. The dress of the Cistercians, it may be observed, consisted of a long white cassock, with black scapulary and hood, and black woollen girdle—the scapulary being a strip of serge or stuff through the middle of which the head was passed, and it fell, front and back, over the shoulders. Outside the bounds of the



CISTERCIAN MONK IN CHOIR DRESS.

monastery the monk wore over this in addition a black cowl or cucullus. Inside the monastery, however, a cowl was not worn except in choir, in processions and on all specially important occasions, and at such times the cowl and hood were white and not black. This predominance of white in the garments of the Cistercians earned for them the name of the White Monks, in contradistinction to the older Benedictines whose habit was black. The monks received their clothes from the abbot, each monk being required to keep his own clothes in repair. The Cistercians wore shoes, not sandals.

In the matter of food also, these Cistercians lived a simple life. During half of the year they had only one meal a day, and not more than two cooked dishes were provided at this single meal, exception in this particular being made in the case of the sick, the aged and some others. At first the Cistercians were strict vegetarians. Not until 1335 was there any relaxation of this rule, when Pope Benedict XII. granted a limited measure of indulgence. Other indulgences followed, with the result that by the middle of the fifteenth century flesh meat was allowed the monks three days a week, on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, except during certain of the Church seasons.

In further illustration of the severe discipline to which the monks were subjected, it may be stated that

silence was strictly enforced among the members of the order. Only certain times and certain places were recognised when and where speech might take place, and any infraction of this rule exposed the delinquent to the discipline of the chapter.

It needs only to be added that what was characteristic of Cistercianism in its origin did not remain with it always. When the wealth of its monasteries increased its rule became relaxed, and it fell under the power of the same evils which had worked ruin in other religious orders. It also lost much of that dominating influence which for a century or two it had exercised in the affairs both of Church and State.

Cistercianism to-day is represented by about a hundred monasteries. The modern Cistercians consist of three distinct bodies or orders, known respectively as the Common Observance, the Middle Observance, and the Strict Observance or the Trappists. The last is the most popular, having associated with it nearly sixty monasteries, in which there are sixteen hundred choir monks and a large number of lay brethren. There are also about a hundred Cistercian nunneries.

CHAPTER II.

MONKS, MONASTERY OFFICIALS, AND MONASTIC ROUTINE.

IT has to be borne in mind by us that the monks who dwelt in a Cistercian monastery were of two classes—the choir monks and the lay brethren. In the earlier period of Cistercianism the choir monks or “religious,” as they were commonly designated, were drawn as a rule from the higher ranks of society. From the storm and stress of life many preferred to retire into the seclusion of a monastery to cultivate there the things of the spirit, taking upon themselves the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Beyond the precincts of the monastery they were henceforth not allowed at any time to depart except with the express sanction of the superior. For the most part they became priests, though the attainment of the rank of the priesthood was not a necessary qualification to be a choir monk: in fact, some did not attain to the rank and were therefore precluded from discharging in the choir such offices as pertained to the priesthood

alone. The number of choir monks in any monastery was never intended to exceed sixty. As a rule, the number was considerably less. When the number sixty was reached, and often indeed before it, a colony of them was sent off to form the nucleus of a new monastery elsewhere, the colony consisting of not fewer than thirteen monks, one of whom became the abbot of the new monastery. The rank of choir monk was only attained after passing through a novitiate, during which the novices were subjected to a very careful training; and at the close of it they were most solemnly invited to declare whether they were prepared to submit themselves to the discipline of the monastery for life. If their answer should be in the affirmative, they were then duly recognised as members of the community, and they continued their studies to qualify themselves for the full duties of the choir.

The other section of the monks within a Cistercian monastery was, as previously stated, the lay brethren or the *conversi* as they are technically named. Very early in the history of monasticism some form of manual labour was encouraged among the monks, but, by reason of the degenerating tendencies and influences referred to in the previous chapter, the practice had largely fallen into desuetude. Cistercianism in its reform of monasticism re-introduced manual labour, and laid great stress upon it as a

necessary part of the religious discipline. In some form of such labour, especially the cultivation of the land, the monks were required to engage in addition to the discharge of those duties that were more particularly religious or spiritual. But for the entire management and development of the large estates attached to their monasteries it was not possible for them to devote the necessary labour themselves, and to this end there was instituted the order of the lay brethren. These men were to all intents monks, submitting themselves to a discipline similar to that of the others, and adopting the same dress. They attended the morning and evening services in the church of the abbey, and, during the interval between these, they either engaged in servile work within the monastery itself or they travelled far and wide over the parish busying themselves in the fields, at the granges, or at the mills belonging thereto. A particular part of the monastery—the house of the lay brethren, consisting of a large dormitory and other apartments—was assigned to them for their use. They were not an educated class, and were drawn, though not exclusively, from the humbler ranks of the people. They entered the convent not as youths but as full-grown men. Being uneducated, they did not, as most of the choir monks did, qualify for the priesthood. Their numbers must have varied very much at different times and in different monasteries.

The extent of estate attached to a monastery would, in the earlier period of its existence, probably determine their number. Sometimes there were as many as two or three hundred. The body of lay brethren connected with Dundrennan must at one time have been very large.

The superior of every abbey was, of course, the abbot. He was elected to his high office by the "religious" themselves, but episcopal or papal confirmation of the election seems to have been required. With the exception of such a general supervision as was exercised over all Cistercian monasteries by the abbot of Citeaux and the General Chapter that was held annually there, the abbot had the responsibility for the whole management and government of his house, and on him devolved the duty of choosing and appointing the monastic officials who should act under him. To him as to a father (*abbas*, father) implicit obedience was to be given. He was to regard himself as representing and occupying the place of Christ among the brethren. On this account great reverence and deference were to be shown him at all times by the community, and he himself, mindful of his high dignity, was to be careful not to tolerate any undue familiarity on the part of any. While the office of abbot was always one of much honour, the holder of the office in the larger and more im-

portant of the monasteries was generally a man of great influence both in Church and State. Even before the close of the twelfth century—that in which Dundrennan was founded—we find the abbot of Dundrennan discharging parliamentary duties, and in the subsequent centuries before the dissolution of the monastery several of his successors are named in the lists of parliament who took an active part in civil affairs.

The official next in importance to the abbot was the prior. His special duty was to exercise a general supervision over the internal arrangements and discipline of the monastery. He was required to come into a much more intimate and familiar relation with the other members of the community than was the abbot. He was their counsellor, their guide, their helper in all matters of religious observance. On every occasion when the abbot was absent from the monastery, discharging parliamentary or other duty, the prior took his place as the superior and wielded his authority.

Following the prior in the order of precedence came the sub-prior, whose main duty, as the name indicates, was to assist the prior in the duties that pertained to his office. Whenever the prior was absent the sub-prior took his place, and, in the event of both abbot and prior being away, upon the sub-prior fell the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the monastery.

Besides these three officials who had to do with matters of general government, there were others, to whom the name "obedientaries" is given, whose duties were connected with some special department of service. Of these probably the chief was the precentor. This was the official to whom pertained the duty of making arrangements for the proper conduct of worship, selecting the music to be sung and choosing the singers, as well as being responsible for training the "religious" in the due discharge of their choir duties: and when it is remembered that the duties of the choir occupied the time of the monks for the greater part of each day, it will be seen that the office of precentor was one which involved very considerable responsibility.

The sacrist was another of the regular officials. The care of the church was his especial charge. He saw that it was kept clean and tidy, that its furniture was all rightly placed, that the altars were suitably dressed, that the vessels of the sanctuary were duly cared for, and that the appropriate vestments were laid out for the use of the priests who needed them in any particular service. The sacrist was also responsible for the lighting of the whole monastery; and, in addition, there devolved upon him the care of the monks' cemetery.

It can well be understood that the feeding of such a large community as was gathered at Dundrennan

must have demanded much forethought and attention. The cellarer was the official upon whom the chief responsibility lay. He had to see that sufficient food was provided to supply the needs of the brethren. Upon the kitchener devolved the arduous task of daily preparing the same for consumption; and the refectorian was charged with the responsibility of attending to the refectory or dining-hall, and having all things in readiness for the community when they came to partake of their meals.

No abbey could be considered complete without an infirmary where the sick and aged monks might be cared for. The infirmary had its own kitchen, and attached to it also was a chapel where service was joined in as far as possible by those able to do so. The official who superintended this portion of the monastery was styled the infirmarian. Part of the duty assigned to him was that of bleeding the monks, an operation which was considered to be good for their health, and to which they had to submit themselves four times each year.

But the kindly attention of the monastery was bestowed on others than the inmates. In days before the existence of inns it fell to the lot of the monasteries to exercise hospitality to the wayfarers, travellers, and merchants who passed their way. For the suitable accommodation of such as these a guest-house became essential, which was presided over

by an official called the guest-master. Nor was it these strangers alone who were cared for and ministered unto. The poor were never forgotten, and an official called the almoner gathered together all that was left after dinner had been served to the monks, and distributed it to the poor with whatever other portion might have been specially allotted for such a purpose.

If we add to the officials already enumerated the chamberlain, who looked after the monks' wardrobe, the master of the novices, who had the special charge of these young men during the period of their novitiate, and the master of the lay brethren, who had oversight of the latter, we have mentioned the chief officials in a monastery. Most of these had assistants to help them in their work. Other duties there were that had to be discharged besides those specified. Some of these were performed by the monks in turn, a week at a time, and others required the employment of paid servants for their adequate performance.

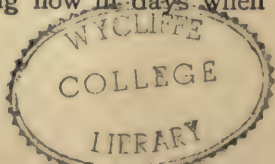
The main purpose for which a monastery was instituted was, of course, the cultivation of the spiritual life of its inmates, and the religious service in the choir was believed to be one of the chief means of attaining this end. Following the example of the Psalmist who declares (Ps. cxix. 164), "Seven times a day do I praise Thee," the monks engaged in no

fewer than seven choir services each day. The hours of these services may have varied a little at different periods of the year, but in general they may be said to have begun about 2 A.M. with Matins, almost immediately followed by Lauds. The convent was aroused from sleep by the prior or other official, and, having dressed, the monks waited in the dormitory until the signal was given for proceeding to the choir. Their movements at this early hour were very quiet, and they were permitted to enter the church by a flight of steps in the south transept which, through the scriptorium, communicated directly with the dormitory. By this means they were saved the necessity of reaching the church by the usual access from the cloisters, and were thus protected from exposure to the keen night air. Immediately upon the conclusion of Lauds they returned, as they came, to their dormitory and retired again to bed. The other services in the church took place at the usual canonical hours. Prime, at the first hour of the day, that is, about 6 A.M. : Tierce, at the third hour, 9 A.M. : Sext, at the sixth hour, 12 noon : Nones, at the ninth hour, 3 P.M. : Vespers, at even, 6 P.M., and Compline about 8 P.M. When the monks were aroused the second time, preparatory to Prime, they rose and dressed themselves in their ordinary working garb, for the duty of day was now begun. The lay brethren, who were not expected to be present in church at the earlier service,

were required to be present at Prime, as they were also required to be present at Vespers when the day's work was done. By reason of the labour in which they engaged, much of it at a distance from the monastery, they were exempt from attendance at the other services. Throughout the day the choir monks, like the lay brethren, were in the interval between their services engaged in a busy round of duties. The higher officials would have, on the conclusion of Prime, to set about fulfilment of the special tasks devolving upon them. The ordinary monks, besides being employed for some part of the day in some form of manual labour, found time for meditation and study, for reading and copying manuscripts in the scriptorium, or for the discharge of some beneficent ministry which might have been assigned them by the superior. The one substantial meal of the day (dinner) was partaken of between 11 A.M. and 12 noon; breakfast, which followed Prime, being a very slight repast, and supper, likewise slight, being a meal often dispensed with. Every morning the monks held chapter when discipline was enforced and business was transacted; and every evening they again gathered in the chapter-house for Collation or the evening reading, which occurred before Compline, and thereafter all retired to bed.

Thus the days were filled in and the years passed by. However decadent and degenerate the monastic

institution may eventually have become, one shuts one's eyes to the truth who cannot admit that there were some good purposes served by it in its best days. Apart altogether from their main purpose of promoting the spiritual welfare of those who entered them, the monasteries fulfilled many beneficent ministries which in these changed times in which we live are discharged by many other institutions. Before the days of universities in our country the monasteries were the patrons and the repositories of learning. Throughout the dark ages it was the monks who succeeded in maintaining alive the love of literature. They studied, and transcribed and have handed down to us many most precious writings of antiquity which, but for their loving care, would have assuredly perished. They instituted schools for the education of the young. They devised means for the care of the poor—feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and ministering to the sick. They provided shelter and hospitality in dangerous days when little other suitable provision was made for the accommodation of travellers and merchants engaged in business. Being exempt from military service, they had freedom to develop their vast estates, and were the pioneers of agriculture and of many industries connected with the land. In these and other directions a civilising influence proceeded from the monasteries. We may be living now in days when



monasticism has ceased to attract as once it did. We may be of the number of those who believe that in the freer and stronger air outside the cloister walls a more natural and healthy religious life can be developed than within them, but we must not forget that there was a stage in the progress and development of history when monasticism, with its better features, served a useful purpose, and candour should compel the acknowledgment of whatever was good in it.



WEST DOOR OF ABBEY.

CHAPTER III.

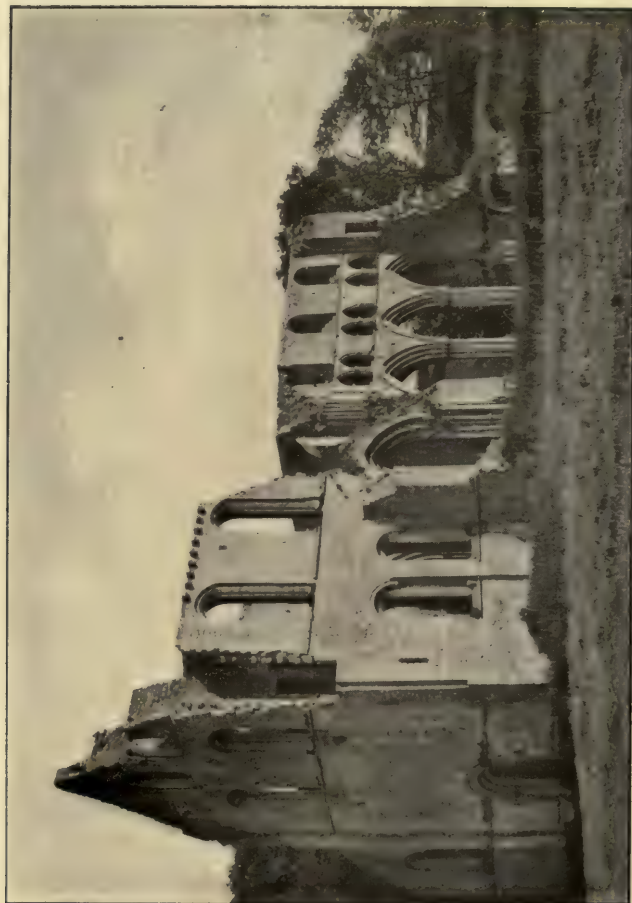
DUNDRENNAN ABBEY : FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO ITS SUPPRESSION.

IT is impossible to offer a complete history of Dundrennan Abbey. The records of the monastery have all disappeared. Hutchison in his *Memorials of Dundrennan Abbey* quotes a statement by the Rev. James Thomson (secundus) to the effect that the charters of the abbey were at one time offered for sale to a member of the Maitland family, the present owners of Dundrennan estate, but that they were not purchased as the price asked was considered too high. There surely can be little ground for a statement like that. It is not the Maitland family only that can be considered as having an interest in the possession of the charters of Dundrennan, and we may be quite sure that, if these old records were being offered for sale, the sellers would not have ceased searching for a purchaser because they had met with a refusal in any particular quarter. If the chartulary of Dundrennan is still extant (which may indeed be the case) it is probably reposing in the library of

some monastic establishment abroad. The records of Scottish religious houses did not suffer such wanton destruction as those of England. The Church saw unmistakable signs of the approach of the Reformation in Scotland, and in many instances took time by the forelock. The Archbishop of Glasgow, for example, carried with him to a safe retreat on the Continent the charters of a considerable number of religious houses that were in the neighbourhood of his city. It may have been in some such manner that the chartulary of Dundrennan disappeared. Mackenzie¹ disposes of the matter thus. When the monks finally left after the Reformation, "we are told they collected the most valuable of their effects, and retired on board of a vessel at Burnfoot, which they had procured for transporting them to France. The vessel sailed from the creek . . . but a storm suddenly came on and the ill-fated bark, with her passengers and the whole wealth of the magnificent abbey, went to the bottom of the sea."

So dependent are we for our information about the history of the abbey upon the casual references found in State papers and the meagre notices of early ecclesiastical writers, that it cannot be stated with definiteness to whom the honour of its foundation

¹ *Hist. of Galloway*, vol. ii. p. 5.



DUNDRENNAN ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

belongs. The honour is given to David I., King of Scotland, and to Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Such a passion had David for founding religious houses, and such a drain upon the royal revenues did this passion entail, that his successors had good reason to remember him as a "sair sanct for the crown." The earliest authorities appear to give the honour of the foundation of Dundrennan to David. So Fordun (*ob.* 1384?) in the *Scotichronicon*; Bellenden (1536) and Holinshed (1577) in their *Chronicles of Scotlande*, which are largely translations of the earlier work of Hector Boece; and Leslie in his *Historie* (1578). On the other hand, Spottiswood² (*Religious Houses in Scotland*, 1655) upholds the claims of Fergus, and in this he is followed by others. In the *New Statistical Account* (1845) the writer (generally understood to be Lord Dundrennan) adopts the language of Chalmers (*Caledonia*, 1824): "Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who was by marriage allied to the throne, emulated royalty in the munificence of his foundations, one of the most remarkable of which was Dundrennan." Dempster is usually quoted in favour of David, his statement in the *Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam* (1622) being, "Dundran in Galweia. Fundat Cister-siensi ordini S. David, Rex." At the same time, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* there is an illuminating

² *Obiit* 1639.

note in an account of S. Richard, a monk of Dundrennan (vol. ii. p. 555). He attributes to Richard the authorship of a book entitled "Ad Fergusium Fundatorem," and continues: "Fuit hic abnepos Fergusii illius qui Dundranense cœnobium fundarat; unde error Scoticorum chronicorum colligitur, qui fundatum volunt a S. Davide." Dempster therefore can hardly be claimed by either side. McKerlie, when discussing the property of Carsluith, Kirkmaebreck (*Lands and their Owners*, iv. 243), states that the Bruns of Drumbou and Bowness became subjects of David I. on his taking possession of Cumberland after the death of Henry I., and he is said to have sent a cadet of this family (stated to be William Brown) into Galloway as his "legatus" or official, when the King was rearing the Abbey of Dundrennan and preparing for the restoration of the bishopric of Candida Casa. McKerlie cites as his authority a contemporary "Chronicle of the Scots," and the statement, whatever its value, points once more in the direction of David rather than of Fergus. The difficulty of deciding between these rival authorities is reflected in the compromise suggested by some recent writers, namely, that Fergus founded the abbey at the suggestion or command of David. But compromises are nearly always unsatisfactory, and the honour of foundation must remain in its present state of obscurity until more unquestionable evidence is

obtained. The date of the abbey's foundation is definitely given in the *Chronicle of Melrose* as 1142.³

In the *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland* by Adam de Cardonnel⁴ there is given the earliest list of the abbots of the monastery, evidently compiled chiefly from the *Chronicle of Melrose*. It is a very meagre list, comprising only nine names. The full list of abbots is still far from complete. Melrose and Newbattle, founded almost at the same date as Dundrennan, had each thirty-six abbots, and, if that number be taken as a fair average, it will be seen that the names of only about two-thirds of the number of the abbots of Dundrennan are known.

³ Part of the *Chronicle of Melrose* is said to have been written by an abbot of Dundrennan. However, Stevenson in his learned introduction to it maintains that no part of it could have been so written, the error being due to the misreading of a note. While the Melrose Chronicle is usually accepted as our authority for the date of the abbey's foundation, in Fordun the previous year (1141) is given. The same year is also found in the *Chronicle of James Smith*, a monk of Kinloss who died in 1557. He attributes the foundation to David, and, after recording that he founded Newbotill in 1140, proceeds, "Anno sequenti fundavit monasterium de Dundranane."

⁴ There is a large and a small edition of Cardonnel. It is in the large edition (two volumes dated 1788 and 1793) that the views of and notes about Dundrennan are to be found. Nine persons are specially mentioned in his introduction, and of one Cardonnel says, "To the Rev. Mr Thomson of Dundrennan I acknowledge myself much obliged."

The following list is as accurate and complete as has yet appeared.

SYLVANUS. The monks settled at Dundrennan came originally from the Abbey of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and were accompanied from that monastery by Sylvanus, who became the first abbot of Dundrennan. Not yet, of course, were there any stately buildings for them to inhabit. These first arrivals, in what would be an uncultivated and perhaps inhospitable region, would have to content themselves for a while, at any rate, with a rude and temporary structure for a dwelling. Upon Sylvanus would devolve the arduous labour of initiating the new monastic establishment. The ground would have to be cleared, and numerous preparations would have to be made for setting about the erection of more permanent buildings. While engaged in such arduous labours Sylvanus was called back to Rievaulx to succeed in the abbacy of that monastery a famous abbot, Ailred, who died in 1167. In this office he continued till his death, which, according to the Melrose Chronicle, occurred at Dundrennan in 1188, but, according to Spottiswood, at Belleland in the following year.

WILLIAM. The first abbot seems to have been succeeded by one of the name of William, whose name is found appended to a charter of Uchtred (1161-1175) confirming a grant made by his father, Fergus,

of the church of Dunrod to Holyrood Abbey. (*Charters of Holyrood*, p. 20). In 1180 he was present at the parliament of King William which met at Haddington, and took part in settling a great dispute between the monastery of Melrose and Richard de Morville regarding the possession of the forest between the Leader and the Gala Waters. (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. 66*). The grave-slab of Abbot William was discovered in the chapter-house in June, 1912.

EGIDIUS. At the same time that William's grave-slab was discovered there was found another in the same place bearing upon it the name of Egidius. It is the solitary record that exists of this abbot. The stone is fractured, and a small part of the inscription, probably a number, cannot easily be deciphered. But the style of lettering and the crudeness of the stone indicate an early date, and we are inclined to place Egidius here.

GAUFRIDUS or Galfrid (Geoffrey). His name appears as that of a witness to a confirmation by Alan, Lord of Galloway, of a charter granted by his grandfather Uchtred. As Alan died in 1234, Gaufridus must be given a date in the early part of

* In the first volume of *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* certain of the pages are distinguished by an asterisk. The edition of the Acts consulted throughout is the large Records Publications edition, edited by Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes.

the thirteenth century. In the Melrose Chronicle it is stated that he died in 1222 at the house of Alba-ripa when returning from a General Chapter.⁵

During at least part of the time of this abbot and through the period of several of his successors, the monastery was involved in a long litigation with Nicholas de Kerdeses,⁶ knight, and Cicely, his spouse. Already the litigation was in progress when we have our first notice of it in 1220. The dispute was connected with Cicely's dower to which the monastery appears to have been laying claim. From before 1220 to 1246 the dispute dragged along, one appeal after another being made to the Pope for justice on the part of the aggrieved knight and his lady, and the Pope remitting the case time and again for adjudication to the ecclesiastical tribunals of this country. At length final judgment was given against the convent by the precentor of York and his co-judges. This judgment, however, being not quite to

⁵ In some lists of abbots another Galfred, dated 1304, occurs after Abbot Walter. There was no abbot of that name at that date. The error is explained by the fact that in 1304 there was drawn up a roll of the early grants made by Scottish kings and nobles to the Hospital of St. Peter of York. Among other benefactors had been Uchtred, Lord of Galloway. Alan, his grandson, confirmed Uchtred's charter and of Alan's confirmation "Lord Galfrid, abbot of Drundrayn," is a witness. As already stated, Alan died in 1234. (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotiand*, ii. 422. Also *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, iii. 92).

⁶ Or, Culenes : generally supposed to mean Cardoness.

their liking, the monks showed themselves rather contumacious, and appear to have been unwilling to give up what they had taken possession of; whereupon the knightly Nicholas and his wife "for one night blocked up the doors of a certain chapel⁷ which the monks had defended against them." For this high-handed proceeding they were put under sentence of excommunication. But, happily, within a short time papal authority was given to the archdeacon of Whitehern to grant them absolution. (*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, vol. i. Also Theiner's *Monumenta*).

ROBERTUS MATURSAL. On the death of Gaufridus he was succeeded by Robertus Matursal, who was sub-prior of the monastery. His creation as abbot is dated 5th January, 1223. In several lists Matursal is misprinted Matwisal. Perhaps Matursal is itself a misreading. Very slight changes would give us Macussal, which approximates very closely to the early form of Maxwell. This abbot, therefore, may have been a member of a family which for generations has played a prominent part in the history of Galloway, and some of whose representatives held office in Dundrennan at a later period of the abbey's history. (*Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 140).

JORDANUS. According to the Melrose Chronicle,

⁷ Possibly the chapel of Culeness in the parish of Anwoth.

Jordanus, abbot of Dundrennan, and the abbot of Glenluce were deposed from their offices in 1236.

LEONIUS, a monk from Melrose, was elected to the vacant office on 7th May, 1236: but he remained at Dundrennan only a short time, for in 1239, like Sylvanus, the first abbot, Leonius was called to the abbacy of Rievaulx.⁸ Here, however, he was fated to have but a brief rule, for he died on 8th January, 1240.

RICARDUS. The choice of a successor to Leonius at Dundrennan fell upon another inmate of Melrose, Ricardus, the prior of Melrose, being elected in 1239.

ADAM. An abbot of Dundrennan, named Adam, is stated in the Melrose Chronicle to have died in 1250, and to have been succeeded by one named Brian.

BRIANUS. On the death of Adam he was succeeded, as stated, by Brian, a monk of the same house. Brian's grave-slab was discovered in the chapter-house in June, 1912, and from it we learn that he was the twelfth abbot of the monastery. His name appears as that of a witness to a charter of certain lands in Kirkpatrick-Durham granted by Devorgilla in her widowhood "to God and the

⁸ Opposite the name of Leonius in the Melrose Chronicle there is a marginal note which gives the name of Ricardus, prior of Melrose, instead of that of Leonius as the abbot who was appointed to Rievaulx in 1239. The succeeding references, however, to both Leonius and Ricardus leave no doubt in the mind that it was the former who was promoted to Rievaulx.

Church of St Mary of Sweetheart and the monks there of the Cistercian Order of the Convent of Dundrennan for the abbey to be built in honour of God and St Mary the Virgin." The date of foundation of Sweetheart is usually given as 1275, though in the above-cited charter the date is given as 10th April, 1273. (*Calendar of Laing Charters*, pp. 13, 14).

WALTER. An abbot of Dundrennan, believed to be Walter, is included in the list of those present at the parliament which met at Brigham, 14th March, 1290, and which confirmed the Treaty of Salisbury that had reference to the Crown in Scotland. Walter, abbot of Dundrennan, and his convent swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, 28th August, 1296, and in return the King gave him a precept to the sheriffs of Berwick and Cumberland for the restitution of the property pertaining to his house. (Palgrave's and Stevenson's *Documents illustrating the Hist. of Scot.*; *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, ii. 193; and Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii. 725).

JOHN. In 1305 the abbot of Dundrennan, whose name was John, nominated John de Blakhoumore, his fellow-monk, and Eustace Dunnyng, his attorneys in Ireland for three years. (*Patent Rolls*, Edw. I., p. 377. Also *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, ii. 464; etc.) It is of interest to observe that the grave-slab of John de Blakhoumore is one of the surviving memorials of the abbey.

EGIDIUS (Giles). In 1351 the Pope confirmed an appropriation of the Church of St Calmanellus, Botylle, in the diocese of Whiteherne, to the abbot and convent of Sweetheart. The letters of Simon, bishop of Whiteherne, apportioning the teinds between the monks and the vicar of the parish are dated at the Church of Botylle, Thursday, the feast of St Luke, 1347, and are witnessed by "Giles, abbot of Dundrinane." (*Cal. of Entries in the Papal Registers*, iii. 396). The grave-slab of Egidius was found with others in the chapter-house in June, 1912.

PAT. McMEN. A charter of Gilbert McCambil and Nevin McGilvar, burgesses of the town of Invermassan,⁹ was confirmed by the King "apud Insulam Oct. 14, 1426," and was attested by "D. Pat. McMEN, olim Abbate de Dundranane." (*Reg. Great Seal*, vol. 1424-1513, p. 41).

THOMAS LIVINGSTON. A very distinguished man. He was appointed one of the eight Scottish representatives to the Council of Basle, and took a leading part in that council in the deposition of Pope Eugenius IV. and in the election of the anti-Pope, Felix V. The King's commission to him to represent the Scottish Church at Basle is dated 1433. He is thought to have been appointed abbot of Dundren-

⁹ In the parish of Inch, Wigtownshire. The ancient *Rerigonium*.

nan in 1423. Eugenius was not deposed till 1439. Whether Thomas held the abbacy of Dundrennan till that date is doubtful. Afterwards he received other appointments, among them the abbacy of Cupar. (*The Statutes of the Scottish Church; The Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus*, by Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D.).

PATRICK MÂLIGUSSOL (? Maxwell). Maziere Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, i. 175, 176) quotes the Vatican records in support of a papal provision to the monastery of Dundrennan, vacant by the voluntary resignation of Frater Thomas, the last possessor, of "Dni Patritii Maligussol, ad ipsum monasterium postulati." There was reserved for the said Thomas a life-pension of £10 Scots payable out of the revenues of the said monastery. Brady gives the date of this provision as 14th May, 1431, but there must be some confusion of dates, as 1433 was the year when Thomas received his commission as abbot of Dundrennan to attend the Council of Basle.¹⁰

¹⁰ In some lists of the abbots of Dundrennan there appears about the middle of the fifteenth century the name of one Henry. The authority for this name seems to be the Rev. James Thomson, who in the Old Statistical Account states that "in 1430 we find one Henry granting a charter to Henry Cutlar of Orroland, which was confirmed by Pope Paul III. in 1437." Now, there is manifestly some error here. For the pontificate of Paul III. was not at the date given, but exactly a century later, and extended from 1534 to 1550. Moreover, in 1530 the abbot of Dundrennan was certainly

WILLIAM. From at least 1456 to 1473 Abbot William of Dundrennan held office under the King as Chamberlain of Galloway. The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright had in 1455 been annexed to the Crown, and the abbot of Dundrennan would appear to have been immediately appointed chamberlain thereof. In the end, however, he got badly into debt, and his arrears as chamberlain had to be compounded for. (*Exchequer Rolls of Scot.*, vi. *passim*, and viii. 164 and 416). In Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale* (p. 238) it is stated that in the time of Innocent VIII., who wielded the papal sceptre from 1484 till 1492, the General Chapter of Cisteaux, by his injunction, commissioned John Schanwell, abbot of Cupar, to visit and reform the Cistercian monasteries of Scotland, when, owing to their neglect of the monastic discipline, he deposed the abbots of Melrose, Dundrennan, and Sweetheart abbeys. The abbot of Dundrennan referred to may have been the above-mentioned William

named Henry, his name occurring frequently in charters. As Thomas was undoubtedly abbot of Dundrennan in 1430, it seems evident that the Orroland charter has been misread or that it has been by some mistake ante-dated by a hundred years. Corroboration seems to be given to this assumption by the fact that, apart from this mention of the Cutlars in 1430, the first reference to the family in Orroland known to the author is in 1586 where a "Henry Cultellar in Murrowland" is spoken of. (*Reg. Privy Council*, vol. iv., p. 100). These considerations induce us to exclude the name of Henry from the list of abbots in the fifteenth century

JAMES HAY. From 1516 to 1524 Abbot James Hay was one of the auditors of Exchequer. (*Exchequer Rolls*, xiv., xv.; *Reg. Great Seal*). In 1524 he was provided to the Bishopric of Ross.

JOHN MAXWELL, third son of John, third Lord Maxwell. He succeeded Abbot James Hay on 27th April, 1524, and was still abbot of Dundrennan in 1527. (*Acts Parl. Scot.*; *Cal. of State Papers Scot.*, i. 19). His brother Robert, fourth Lord Maxwell, was in great favour with the King, and was one of the most powerful nobles of his time.

HENRY WEMYS. Dowden (*The Bishops of Scotland*, p. 372) says that Henry Wemys, archdeacon of Candida Casa and parson of Outerdekan was appointed bishop of Galloway 24th Jan., 1525-26. He was also Commendator of Dundrennan, to the temporality of which he was admitted 24th April, 1530. He occasionally attended parliament, and frequently witnessed charters. His signature is appended to one on 14th March, 1540-41, but he must have died soon after, for Andrew Durie, abbot of Melrose, had gift of the temporality of the bishopric of Galloway, 25th May, 1541. (McKerlie, iii. 105; *Cal. of Laing Charters*).

ADAM BLACKADER, Commendator. Previous to his election he was prior of Coldingham, from which office he was transferred in 1541 to Dundrennan in order to allow of the appointment thereto of John, a

boy in his seventh or tenth year, the illegitimate son of James V., a glaring instance of the shameful trafficking in Church benefices that was now only too common. Adam was abbot of Dundrennan from 1541 to 1565. (He died some time between 1st December, 1565, and 2nd February, 1565-66. *Reg. Great Seal*). He was a very regular attender at parliament, and was present when the Scots Confession of Faith was ratified in 1560. (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, ii).¹¹

EDWARD MAXWELL, Commendator, succeeded Adam and held the abbacy till he died in 1598. He was a grandson of Robert, Lord Maxwell, and third son of John Maxwell, Lord Herries. The Reformation was an accomplished fact by the time he received his appointment to Dundrennan, and ultimately he became possessor of a large part of the abbey lands. He married Margaret Baillie, the only daughter and heir of Sir William Baillie of Lamington.

¹¹ In the list of the Parliament of 26th June, 1545, there appears the name of John, Abbot of Dundrennan. It is the only time the name occurs. Curiously enough, in the Appendix (p. 50) to Keith's *History of the Church* there is given an act of the Privy Council in the very same year (1545), and in the sederunt occurs the name "Hary, abbot of Drumdrennane." But it so happens that in the Register of the Great Seal there is the record of a charter granted by Adam on 12th May, 1545. The names of John and Hary, therefore, must be regarded as misreadings. Indeed, in Keith several names are omitted from the sederunt of the Privy Council owing, probably, to illegibility.

The marriage-contract required that he should take the name and arms of Baillie, and a petition to parliament asking that he might be permitted to do so was granted, dispensing, however, with his "resaving the surname of Baillie for ane certaine space to cum." Edward Maxwell signed the bond to defend Queen Mary after her escape from Lochleven. His father, Lord Herries, was one of the Queen's trusted companions in her flight from the stricken field of Langside, and Edward himself is said to have afforded her refuge in his Abbey of Dundrennan. In the Register of the Privy Council (iii. pp. 678, 679) we find the following minutes of the Council regarding him: "Edin., 21st July, 1584. Edward Maxwell, commendator of Dundrennane, commanded to enter in ward in the castle of Blaknes within twenty-four hours after being charged, and to remain there till freed, under pain of rebellion, the Secretary to direct his letters for the receipt of the commendator within the said castle." "Edin., 25th July, 1584. The said commendator of Dundrennane having contemptuously disobeyed the charge of the preceding minute 'be his wilfull depairting hame, or in sum uther part of the cuntrie' the order now is to denounce him rebel and put him to the horn." It is not easy to say what these minutes refer to, but in the Exchequer Rolls (xxi. p. 598) at a date exactly midway between the two dates above-mentioned we come

across this entry: "Vigesimo tertio Julii, 1584. Caution by David Horn, burgess of Edinburgh, for Edward Maxwell, commendator of Dundrennan, for payment to the treasurer of £50 for each of the portions of twelve monks of the said abbey, alleged deceased since 1560, for crop and year 1583, if found due by the lords auditors; horning upon six days charge; obligation of relief by the said commendator." Perhaps Maxwell thought that when he offered Horn as his cautioner for these demands he was at liberty to go where he pleased, but the Council may have regarded his departure in a more serious light. However, we do not learn anything more of the matter.¹² But in a few years' time Edward Maxwell is figuring once again in the proceedings of the Privy Council. A fierce dispute, evidently over a

¹² It appears that at this time an attempt was made to compel the holders of abbacies to pay over to the Crown a sum equal to that which would have been required for the sustenance of the monks. The contention was put forward that the monks had been maintained out of revenues assigned to themselves, and separate from the abbot's revenue: and that, as each monk died after 1560 (and his place, of course, was no more filled), the abbot had simply appropriated to his own use the monk's portion. Naturally, this attempt was resisted, and it seems to have been in connection with such an attempt that the proceedings against Edward Maxwell were instituted. It is interesting to note from the claim made upon Maxwell that from 1560 to 1583 twelve monks had died, and it is very possible that these twelve monks may have comprised nearly the whole number of those who occupied Dundrennan at the time of the Reformation.

title to land, existed for a while between him and his sister Elizabeth, the wife of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar. Under pain of a fine of £2000 Edward was required by the Privy Council in 1588 to find caution that Sir John and his lady, their tenants and servants, "sall be harmeless and skaithles in thair bodyis landis takkis possessionis gudis and geir. And on nawise to be molestit nor troublit be ye said Edward nor na uyris." Happily, brother and sister were able subsequently to compose their differences and came under agreement to live in unity for the future. Edward Maxwell continued commendator of Dundrennan till his death, 29th September, 1598. He was buried in the ancient "Queir" of Terregles Church, where his quaint memorial is still to be seen. There is a good reproduction of this memorial in Sir William Fraser's *The Book of Carlawerock*, with, however, the date 1568 upon it—manifestly an error for 1598.

JOHN MURRAY. Edward Maxwell is usually regarded as the last abbot of Dundrennan. But the following extract from the Register of the Great Seal shows that, immediately upon the occurrence of Maxwell's death, the King appointed John Murray commendator of Dundrennan: "28 Feb. 1598-99. Rex, pro bono servitio, constituit Joannem Murray filium Caroli M. de Cokpule, pro ejus vita,—commendatarium de Dundrenane et spiritualitatis ejusdem

(temporalitate corone sue annexa), cum ecclesiis, decimis,—vacan. per mortem Eduardi commendatarii de D." In 1606 the monastery of Dundrennan was finally suppressed by act of parliament. What remained of its vast estate was erected into a temporal lordship and was bestowed on Murray, who was an especial favourite of the King. Eventually Murray was raised to the dignity of Earl of Annandale. Unlike Edward Maxwell and preceding commendators, Murray seems never to have been styled "Abbot of Dundrennan." The practice of laymen designating themselves by ecclesiastical titles is strongly objected to in chapter xi. of the *Second Book of Discipline* (1581), where exception is taken to "the admissioun of men to Papisticall titles of benefices, sic as serves not, nor hes na functioun in the Reformit Kirk of Chryst, as Abbatis, Comendatouris, Priouris, Prioressis," etc.

Of these abbots a more extended notice may be given of Abbot Thomas, who held the office in the early part of the fifteenth century. He was born about 1388, and studied at St Andrews, taking his bachelor of arts degree in 1413 and that of master in the following year. He belonged to the family of Livingston which was then beginning to attain influence at the Scottish Court, and some of whose members had a close connection with Dundrennan a century and a half later. When about forty years

of age he was promoted to the abbacy of Dundrennan. He is chiefly remembered for the very prominent part which he took in the deliberations of the famous Council of Basle. The first sitting of that important council took place on 23rd July, 1431. But the Hussite wars and other circumstances hindered a full attendance of representatives at the council for some considerable time. Among other Christian princes who had been dilatory in commissioning representatives to the council was the Scottish King, but at the instigation of the abbot of Dundrennan he nominated eight commissioners from the Scottish Church, these eight being John, bishop of Glasgow and John, bishop of Brechin; John, abbot of Melrose and Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan; Donald Macnachtane and Nicolas of Athol, respectively dean and precentor of Dunkeld; and two others whose Christian names, John and David, only are known. To Thomas himself the King directed the following letter which was read as his excuse at the session of the Council that met on Friday, 14th August, 1433.

“ James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to the venerable father in Christ, the Abbot of Dundrennan, greeting. We have steadily kept in mind the invitation repeatedly addressed to us by the holy Council of Basel as representing the universal church, assembled in the Holy Spirit for the reformation of

morals in the clergy and Christian people, and for ending the discord between Christian princes: whereby with fatherly admonition and salutary exhortations we have been invited to send representatives to help in accomplishing a purpose so sacred. Considering therefore that if the matter be rightly looked at, nothing can be, or be thought of, more honourable than that which we are invited to do, juster or more opportune or more necessary or, in fine, more worthy of a Catholic prince or more to be desired by him: although surely the length of the way and the perils of the journey across the lands of enemies and of the voyage by sea may perhaps be held to excuse us for not having as yet sent our representatives, we shall see to it that we now do our best and utmost to send such representatives that henceforward there shall be no occasion for any kind of excuse. Reposing therefore a perfect confidence in your learning and discretion, all the more by reason of the letters you have written to move us to this step, we by our present letters patent confer on you full authority to lay before those presiding in the said council our devotion, our goodwill, and our wish to forward, as far as it lies in our power, their sacred design begun by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, so that it may have a prosperous outcome, and to announce the unfailing and speedy arrival of our embassy. Given under our privy seal

at Edinburgh, on the twenty-second day of the month of June, 1433.”¹³

The Council of Basle was attended by representatives from almost every quarter of Christendom, and by the lower orders of the clergy in much larger numbers than had been the case in any previous General Council. The main purpose of its being summoned was to deal with the urgent question of the reform of the clergy. But the members found in Pope Eugenius IV. one who was distinctly hostile to the proceedings of the council. He issued a bull dissolving it, but his decree was not given effect to. At length he was persuaded to recognise it. But the relations between the Pope and the council did not improve. On the contrary, a strong and influential party became so hostile to him that finally the council determined upon his deposition and the election of an anti-Pope in his place. One of the moving spirits of this opposition party was Abbot Thomas of Dundrennan. In the keen debates that preceded the council's decision he took a leading part. Even his opponents acknowledged the ability and learning which the Scottish ecclesiastic displayed. The result was that when the council determined to set aside Pope Eugenius, they appointed a committee of three to make the preliminary arrange-

¹³ David Patrick, LL.D., *The Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. 218.

ments for the election of a new Pope, and the leader of this committee was Thomas of Dundrennan, the other two being John of Segovia, Archdeacon of Villa Viciosa, and Thomas of Corcelles, Canon of Amiens. These three were allowed to co-opt a fourth, Christian, Provost of St Peter's of Brun. This committee in turn nominated an electoral college of some thirty-three members by whom the new Pope was to be chosen, and the issue of their labours was the election in 1439 of one, Amadeus of Savoy—a prince who had retired from his temporal sovereignty, and was living, in semi-seclusion, a monastic life by the shores of Lake Geneva. The anti-Pope thus elected assumed the title of Felix V.

But while the abbot of Dundrennan took a leading part in the proceedings which led to the deposition of Eugenius, it is to be noted that the Scottish Church, with other branches of the Church, did not follow this Scottish abbot, nor accept the findings of the council. A provincial council in Scotland repudiated the proceedings of Basle, and very severe penalties were decreed against all who had taken any part in, or who sympathised with the schism. It might naturally be supposed that the abbot of Dundrennan would fare badly in these circumstances. On the contrary, Thomas seems to have fared pretty well. Indeed, it is asserted that he very soon changed sides, and that, out of gratitude for the

support of this leading adherent of Felix, the papal party were too glad to reward him with many honours. But there hardly seems sufficient ground for the charge that he promptly deserted the cause of Felix when he saw that it was not going to be successful. It is more likely that he continued on the same side till 1447, when Eugenius died and Felix retired, and on the election of Nicholas V. he submitted himself to the new Pope. Nicholas, at any rate, directed the archbishop of St Andrews to absolve all who had been implicated in the schism, and, as a Scottish ecclesiastic, Thomas would benefit by such absolution. Previous to this, indeed, he had been nominated for the bishopric of Dunkeld, in succession to Kennedy, who had been promoted to the archbishopric of St Andrews. But he never received possession of the vacant see, the King of Scotland refusing to admit him to the temporality thereof. Yet although never admitted, and although another was, in fact, appointed before he returned to Scotland, he always retained the title of Bishop in the Universal Church. But other substantial rewards came his way. He was appointed commendator and administrator of the Cistercian abbey of Cupar (with 1500 gold florins a year), with an annual pension of 100 florins from the monasteries of Newbattle and Dundrennan, with the rectory of Kirkinner (the richest in Galloway) and with the administration of the

Italian monastery of St Christopher beyond the walls of Turin. Pope Calixtus revoked the grant of the church of Kirkinner which had been bestowed on him by the successor of Eugenius, Pope Nicholas V., but it was restored in 1458 by Pope Pius II. at the instigation of King James II. whose confessor the abbot had become. In 1459, when he was over seventy years of age and nearly blind, he sought for assistance in the discharge of his duty, and a co-adjutor was given him in the administration of the affairs of Cupar Abbey. This assistance, however, was not long required, for he was dead before 10th July, 1460, when Pius II. gave direction to have confirmation given of the election of his successor in the abbacy of Cupar.¹⁴

Little notice is taken of this distinguished abbot by the early Scots historians: a fact which leads Michael Geddes, in *The Council of Trent no Free Assembly*, to make the following observations.¹⁵ "'Tis somewhat strange that none of the Scots writers speak of him; it was a great honour to that nation to have produced a man of so eminent a character, who, upon such an extraordinary occasion, was set at the head of such a business, which was in a great measure to be supported by the credit of those

¹⁴ Robertson's *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, i., pp. xcvi.-xcix. Also Rogers' *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus*, pp. 48ff.

¹⁵ Pp. 53-55. The quotation is given by Rogers.

to whom it was trusted. One ought to think that both his learning, integrity, and judgment were much distinguished, and yet I do not find that he is known to the writers of that nation; . . . perhaps the case with him was like that of a prophet, who is not without honour, save in his own country; or so transient a thing is fame and reputation that he, who in one age was esteemed the man of the first and most distinguished merit of a whole Council, is so forgotten in the next that even those who have laboured much and with great success, Buchanan especially, to raise the value of their country, have not mentioned a man that was so great an honour to it, and that within memory of the time in which they wrote."

As generally happens where the records have been lost, only a few names of the inmates of the monastery have been preserved beyond those of the abbots. Two monuments in the ruins perpetuate the memory of John de Blakomor and Patrick Douglas, respectively prior and cellarer. Another monk of Dundrennan, a certain Henry de Aubley, is credited with the authorship of some lines eulogising Alan, Lord of Galloway, while in the same century (the thirteenth), included in a list of writers belonging to the Cistercian order, there is found the name of St Joseph of Dunrainan. In his notice of Dundrennan in the *Apparatus* Dempster mentions another name. "Ex hoc (monasterio) S. Richardus Sacrista fuit." He

makes a more lengthy reference to this man in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ii. 554, 555) which may be thus translated: "St Richard, named the Sacrist, assumed the Cistercian habit of the Benedictines in the most holy monastery of Dundranen, and when he had made much advance in piety, and was esteemed (as indeed he was) a man distinguished both by integrity of life and by singular learning, he left his country and set out upon a journey with the intention of visiting the place of suffering and the relics of St Boniface the Scot, and of proceeding thereafter to Rome and Jerusalem; but when he reached Frisia he accepted the office of sacrist in a Benedictine monastery near Gronyngen, the duties of which he discharged with reverence and devotion, and died, as may be learned from the chronicles of Gronyngen. He was the author of three books, a volume entitled 'To Fergus the Founder,' another, 'Concerning Harmony,' and a third, 'Meditations.' He flourished in the year 1287." After his death his right hand, severed from the body, was believed to have continued living for many years.

Sir Robert Sibbald in his *Manuscript Collections* (1682) declares that "in the parish of Rerik is a large Abbay, called Dundrannan, wherein Mr Michael Scott lived." This appears to be a reference to Michael Scott, the Wizard. It is, however, another Galloway monastery—that of Glenluce—with which

the Wizard's name is often associated, and it is possible Sibbald may have confounded the two. Glenluce claims to be the place where Scott was buried along with his books of magic, and a tradition is current in the district of a man having been driven mad by the sight of the Wizard's skeleton confronting him in a sitting posture, on his tampering with the grave. But Glenluce is not the only place that claims the honour of burial of Michael Scott. That honour is claimed also by the Abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, and lovers of Sir Walter Scott will remember that the honour has been claimed for the Abbey of Melrose.

The following allusion to an unhappy experience in which a Dundrennan monk found himself involved is made by Dr Thomas Murray in the New Statistical Account of the parish of Girthon. Referring to the Murrays of Broughton, sole proprietors of the parish, he says: "The founder of the family of Murray of Broughton came from Morayshire and settled at Broughton, Wigtonshire, in the twelfth century, since which time they have ranked among the magnates of Galloway. The first lands which they acquired in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright were obtained by a marriage with a daughter of Murray of Cockpool, Dumfriesshire. The lands thus obtained, and which still belong to the family, were Kirkarsel and others in the parish of Rerrick;

and one of the monks of Dundrennan having been suspected of improper intimacy with 'Lady Broughton,' her husband slew him at a place called Allan's Cross till this day. Murray was obliged to pay a fine, as a compensation for the murder, to the abbey, which fine (£10) has continued to be and is still paid to the Crown since the demolition of the monastery."

The following extract from Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*¹⁶ (i. 54) mentions the names of some of the inmates of Dundrennan at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and at the same time testifies to certain lawless proceedings of which they had been the victims:—"October 19, 1508. John Magge (McGhie), of Plomtoun, Convicted of art and part of Convocation of the lieges, in company with the Laird of Bomby, during the time of the Court, at the *Standande-stane*, in Drumdranan, held by the said Laird, in the year 1504: *Item*, of art and part of the Oppression done to Sir William Schankis, Monk, casting him down from his horse during the time of the said Court: *And* of art and part of the Oppression done to Andrew Denis, Officer of the Abbot of Drumdranen, taking and detaining him against his will, until the conclusion of the said Court. Fined vj merks.—The Laird of Bomby, and the said James for himself, conjunctly and severally, became surety to the King and party. 'Iiij li'.—Alan and John

¹⁶ *Bannatyne Club Edition.*

Makclelane, in Kirkcudbrycht, were fined x merks each for the same crime.—Peter Mur, of Balmagachane, William Levinax, younger of Caly, Alexander Porter, brother of the Laird of Lag, Peter Levingstoune, and nine others, were likewise fined iiij merks each, excepting Peter Mur, who was delivered *gratis* to the Sheriff.—The Laird of Bomby became surety, along with themselves, to the King and party.” Evidently this had been no puny affair when so many important people in the district had become involved in it. Another entry in Pitcairn (i. 75) shows that the time had come when the person and property of not even an abbot were held sacred. The date is 1511. “Nov. 23 (*die Saboti, ij die Itineris*)—John Story, in Dundranane, admitted to compound for art and part of the Theft of 300 merks and a gold chain from the Abbot of Dundranene: *Item*, for art and part with Eduard Story, common Thief, in his Thefts; and specially, the time of the Theft of a box from the said Abbot: *Item*, for treasonably going out of the kingdom, and remaining in England: *Item*, for common Theft and common Reset of Theft.—The Laird of Bomby became surety to satisfy the parties.”

In the Hutton Collection of MSS. in the Advocates' Library there is a copy (paper 33) of sasine in favour of “Tho. McClellan of Bombie of the three merkland of Barloquo granted 10th July, 1544, by

Adam commendator de Dundraneñ, alex. spens, prior, Johannes Smyth, Johannes turnor, thomas symsoñ, willmus thomā, Nicholaus story, Johannes wreith, andreas cuninghame, Jacobus hutoūn, Johannes stewinson, David Johnistoun, and David Donaldsone."

In the *Calendar of the Laing Charters* (p. 131) there is a Precept of *Clare Constat* for infefting William Neilson in the three merkland of Barncailzie and Larglauch in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham. The deed is dated at Dundrennan 9th May, 1545, and is signed by "Adam ēmēdatarius de Dūdrēnē, and by Alexander Spens, prior, John Smyth, James Hetoūn, John Turnour, Nicholas Store, William Thom, David Johnsoun, John Wrycht, John Schewysoun, and Andrew Cunyngham." These two deeds, executed in consecutive years, have, it will be observed, appended to them precisely the same signatures, with the exception that the earlier deed contains two names in excess of the later one. It may be reasonably inferred, therefore, that these men, with perhaps one or two others who may have been necessarily detained from chapter, comprised the whole number of the choir monks near the close of the monastery's existence. There may have been a few lay brethren besides, but their numbers must have been greatly reduced owing to the fact that much of the abbey lands had already passed out of its pos-

session before the Reformation, and most of what remained was let on lease to regular tenants.

Famed as the monasteries were for the exercise of hospitality, Dundrennan must have given shelter to many visitors both of high and low degree. If we accept the persistent tradition that Mary, Queen of Scots, spent the last night of her life in Scotland in the abbey, then no name more interesting than hers could have been recorded on the visitors' roll. But Mary was not the only royal visitor. James IV. visited Dundrennan in 1505. He had been making one of his frequent visits to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn, where he arrived on 31st July. He had come to Whithorn by way of Ayr and had passed the two previous nights at the Abbey of Crossraguel and the Abbey of Glenluce. His stay at Whithorn was of the briefest duration, and it is quite in keeping with the practice of combining religion with pleasure which characterised the pilgrimages of the middle ages to find the King not only expending a sum of nine shillings in purchasing "takynnys" of St Ninian, but bestowing a similar sum by way of a gratuity upon one, Thomas, a jester. Returning home from Whithorn by Penninghame and the Water of Cree (where he purchased two horses) the King spent the night of 2nd August within the Abbey of Dundrennan, and, before proceeding north by way of Dumfries, he left with "the monkis of Drumdranan" a sum of twenty shillings

in appreciation of their hospitality.¹⁷ James II. may have been at Dundrennan when in 1456 he was fighting the Douglasses in their stronghold of Threave. We know at least that he was making use in various ways of the Abbeys of Tongland and Dundrennan at that time, and, when success crowned his undertaking, he left behind him certain persons ill at these monasteries.¹⁸

It has been already observed that the monks of the Cistercian order occupied themselves in some form of manual labour. They devoted themselves, in particular, to the cultivation of the extensive lands attached to their monasteries and to the development of industries connected therewith. Their chief source of wealth, in the earlier period of their history at least, was the land gifted to them. By the produce of these lands they maintained themselves. They became agriculturists: they were breeders of horses, and cattle and sheep: for a time they did a considerable business in the export of wool and other articles of merchandise. They travelled hither and thither under royal protection in the prosecution of trade. Thus, on 29th March, 1223, "the Abbot, monks and friars of Dundreinan have letters patent of protection directed" by Henry III. "to the Justiciar of Ireland, and others the King's bailiffs in that

¹⁷ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vol. iii., pp. xix. and 62.

¹⁸ *Register of Privy Council*.



DUNDRENNAN ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

country to endure for three years.”¹⁹ On 16th November, 1266, the same King “at the instance of John de Baillol takes under his protection the Abbot, monks and brethren of Dundraynan abbey in Galloway, and their men coming to England with wool and other goods to traffic therewith; and gives them leave to buy corn and other victuals there to take to Galloway for their sustenance, they paying the usual customs on same.”²⁰ On 16th September, 1280, confirmation was given by the King (Edward I.) of a charter granted by him “in minori statu” at Bernard’s Castle on 13th April, 1267, “whereby he, at the instance of Sir John de Balliol, took under his protection the Abbot, monks and friars of Dundreynan Abbey in Galloway and their men going to Ireland, and commanded his lieges of Dublin and Drogheda to permit them to buy to the extent of 240 crannoks of wheat, and as many of oats or meal, wines and other victuals for the sustenance of their house.”²¹ Any one who should resist the monks was liable to a £10 fine. The permission to obtain these large supplies in Ireland, coupled with the fact that in the previous year a charter was granted for obtaining

¹⁹ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, i. 151.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 479.

²¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 58. The charter as given in the Patent Rolls (Edw. I., 397) mentions only 120 crannoks, but 240 is corroborated by the Irish Calendars.

supplies in England, gives some indication of the very considerable religious community that must have been resident within the walls of Dundrennan at this period. From similar authority given to other religious houses of Galloway, it would appear that the district was suffering from famine about this time.

The close of the thirteenth century saw the beginning of the struggle for Scottish independence. In 1291 Edward I. of England (whose ambition it was to bring all Great Britain under the English sovereign) found a favourable opportunity for furthering his designs in the dispute over the succession to the Scottish crown which arose upon the death of Queen Margaret, "The Maid of Norway." Asked to arbitrate between the claimants, he gave his award in favour of John Balliol, who accepted the crown: but, both before and after his coronation, Balliol was required to do homage to Edward and acknowledge the English king as sovereign lord of the realm of Scotland. But even Balliol could not endure the interference of Edward in Scottish affairs, and in 1296 Scotland renounced allegiance. Edward immediately advanced his forces north, and in the first instance was everywhere successful. In little more than three months poor Balliol was compelled in July to make submission to the conqueror at Montrose, and he was sent south for confinement in the Tower of London. The greater part of Scotland

was now garrisoned with English troops and governed by English officials. It was in connection with these stirring events that Edward obtained from John Balliol and the clergy, nobles and community of Scotland an oath of submission and fealty to him, and the roll of those who thus made submission is designated the Ragman Roll. Under date 28th August, 1296, Walter, abbot of Dundrennan, with his convent swore fealty. An evidence of the disturbed state through which the country had passed, and of the loss which was being suffered, is furnished by a petition which was presented to the King in 1299 by the abbot and convent of Sweetheart, praying him "(1) to confirm the lands held by charter of their founders and others, and grant warren; (2) protection for their lands and men, and relief from seignurages and talliaiges imposed contrary to their franchise and founder's charter to their great impoverishment, whereby they can neither maintain themselves, the service of God, nor the alms of their house; (3) restoration of $8\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of good wool taken for the King by Sir Harseulf de Cleseby out of a grange at Holm Coltram where they had placed it for safety from the Scots in the 25th year; (4) to remember their destruction and burnings in the war, which they place at 5000 pounds and more, in his grace." But Sweetheart Abbey was not the only petitioner. A petition in similar terms was presented from "the Abbey of

Our Lady of Dundraynan," with the estimated loss by destruction and burnings placed at 8000 pounds.²² In answer to these petitions the King appointed a committee to examine the charters of the abbeys and to certify him. He declared that he took all "religious" under his protection. He promised to ordain as to the wool and to make amends in regard to the other losses. Probably the result of the committee's examination into the abbey's charters is seen in a charter which was granted by Edward I. on 18th October, 1305, and which shows us what was the extent of the lands attached to the abbey at that date. It is styled a "charter to the Abbot and convent of Dundraynan of free warren in their desmesne lands of Gairstange, Newelathe, Ourelathe, Nethrelathe, Aghengoile, Oure Reraik, Nethre Reraik, Roskerald, Aghencarne, Clonfinaghe, Barlocwood, Barlock, the isle of Estholm, the hospital of Crithe, Kirkpatrick Durand, and Aghenkippe in the county of Dunfres, and Biskeby and Culfaldon in the county of Wigton."²³ But within a short time it is evident that the abbey was the owner of more land: for in 1328 the convent petitions the King (Edward III.) "at the request of the King of Scotland to re-

²² *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, ii. 286.

²³ *Ibid.*, ii. 461. In the *Cal. of Charter Rolls* (iii. 61) Clonfinaghe appears more correctly as Clonsinagh (Glenshinnoch), and Culfaldon appears as Culscadan.

store their land of Bretneston in the county of Meath (Mide) in Ireland, from which they were ejected when the war began, for no other reason than that they were Scots, as he is bound to do by the treaty."²⁴ (The war between England and Scotland had been renewed: but Bannockburn had been fought in 1314, and at length in 1328 a treaty had been signed at Northampton in which Bruce was recognised as king, and English claims of homage from the Scottish sovereign were renounced. The English in Ireland had evidently taken advantage of the disturbed state of affairs to seize the abbey's property in that country). But, though the King sent the petition to his chancellor that order might be taken thereon in terms of the treaty with Scotland, no immediate success attended it. The Justiciary of Ireland replied that he could not execute the order, because the King had granted the land to Thomas de Warilowe for life.²⁵ However, in 1335 Edward Balliol sent the English sovereign a letter urging the loyalty of the abbot and convent to both Kings; whereupon Edward issued a writ to his chancellor to cause the justices of Ireland to restore the ten pound land called Bretonstone, in the sheriffdom of Meath, which the King of Scotland had signified by his letters they had taken in the

²⁴ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, iii. 174.

²⁵ *Cal. of Close Rolls*, Edw. III., 487.

King's hand.²⁶ Whether this was attended with any more success than the previous order is doubtful. For so late as 1395 we find Richard II. granting to Robert Sutton, king's clerk, for his good service from the time of the coronation, a charter of all lands in "Burton Eston Galway, co. Meath, sometime of the abbot and convent of Dundrennan in Scotland and forfeited because they adhered to the Scots."²⁷

By the middle of the fourteenth century at any rate, it is evident that many valuable properties had passed into the possession of Dundrennan Abbey. The lands already enumerated, however, do not exhaust the full extent of the abbey's properties. For, from Robertson's *Index of Charters*, we learn that Robert the Bruce granted to the abbey a charter of the lands of Polles, and that David II. granted charters of the lands of Culyn, Davach, and Rungistoun; of Cullindach; and of Dungernok in the Water of Dee.²⁸ Nor were these all, for in many charters granted by the abbey itself at a later period it is abundantly made clear that the subjects referred to were once Dundrennan Abbey property. Kirk-

²⁶ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.*, iii. 209.

²⁷ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1399, p. 186.

²⁸ It is not very easy to identify some of these places. Cullindach is in the parish of Kirkmabreck, where also the abbey held the lands of Larg, Glenquicken, Dargawell and probably others. Culyn, Davach appear in the Register of Great Seal as one word, Cullyndonald.

patrick-Durham has already been noticed as a parish where the monastery had an interest; and the lands there of Crofts, Marwhirn and Barncailzie were all once in its possession. Orroland, in the parish of Rerrick, was likewise the property of the monks, for it is stated (though the date is probably wrong) that the charter of that land was granted in 1430 to Henry Cutlar by an abbot named Henry. How valuable an estate was attached to Dundrennan in the days of its prime it might now be impossible to say; but there can be no doubt that in respect of land the abbey was very richly endowed.

Nor did its wealth consist in the extent of its land alone. At the time of the Reformation it had a revenue, apart altogether from that derived from land, of £500, equal to about ten times that amount at present value. A large part of the evil connected with the monastic system was the practice of gifting to monasteries the revenues belonging to parish churches. When a parish church became thus appropriated to a religious house, its revenues went to the support of the monks, who undertook the spiritual oversight of the parish; and for the discharge of the duty they appointed a vicar, too often at a miserably insufficient stipend, or from time to time they might send one of their own number to minister at the altar of the church the revenues of which they enjoyed. It was a practice which one can

well imagine would lead to much dissatisfaction. The duties of the priesthood in such parishes were often most perfunctorily discharged : and the existence of the evil was one of the potent influences which wrought in the direction of the great change accomplished by the Reformation. It can well be understood that the church of the parish in which Dundrennan Abbey was situated would be one of those attached to that monastery. So also was the parish church of Kirkmabreck; and the revenues of these churches went to swell the wealth of the Dundrennan monks.

But there were other abuses which also worked up inevitably to the Reformation. The vast wealth which the old Church was amassing was arousing the envy and jealousy of others; and kings and nobles and men of lesser note began to bestir themselves in the hope of possessing themselves of some part of it. The practice of bestowing abbacies and priorates *in commendam* came to be encouraged, and in course of time the Church even connived at it. The person who was appointed to an abbacy *in commendam* (he was called a commendator) did not require to be in holy orders : it was not even necessary that he should have reached manhood's estate, and there are gross cases on record in which mere infants had such office conferred on them. Such an one might be called abbot, and he received the revenues of his abbacy :

but all the clerical duties of his office had to be discharged by the prior below him, or, if he also happened to be a commendator, by his subordinate, the sub-prior. It was an expedient that came to be largely taken advantage of to divert the Church's monies into secular channels. Kings and nobles dared to make use of it to make provision for their younger sons, or to reward those who had rendered them notable service. But it was a practice that could not be other than hurtful to the institution which tolerated it, and it contributed largely to the overthrow of the monastic system. Of the later abbots of Dundrennan several were commendators; and to such an extent was the practice in operation at the time of the Reformation, that, out of twenty abbots and priors who sat in the parliament of 1560 which sanctioned the Reformed Confession of Faith, no fewer than fourteen were commendators.

Closely associated with this practice—one might even call it part of it—was the shameful trafficking in benefices that went on. Underhand intrigue was everywhere busily at work. The patronage of some important sponsor was sought in order to obtain some rich benefice, on the understanding that a proportion of the spoil should go to the successful intermediary. We have a glaring instance of this in the endeavours that were made to secure preferment for John Maxwell, abbot of Dundrennan. He had received the

abbacy in 1524, and almost at the same time he had been appointed prior of St Martin's, Whithorn, the principal dignity in Galloway after the bishopric. "As the church of Whithorn," writes King James V. to Pope Clement VII. in November, 1524, "is much visited by the English and Irish on account of the miracles of St Ninian, and is situated at the extremity of the kingdom, it requires a man who will both show hospitality to pilgrims, and protect the country from piratical assaults." Therefore he "begs that Maxwell may be allowed to retain the Cistercian abbacy of Dundrennan along with Whithorn."²⁹ But a greater prize was aimed at for John Maxwell. The rich abbacy of Melrose was vacant, and no one was more persistent in her efforts to have the abbot of Dundrennan promoted thereto than Margaret, the Queen-Dowager. The reason for her keen interest in Maxwell's promotion was that she herself was to benefit to the extent of £1000 (Scots) yearly out of the revenues of the abbey. She induces her son (James V.) to take up the cause of Maxwell's promotion. She writes to her brother (Henry VIII.) and to Cardinal Wolsey and others seeking their assistance in the same direction. In fact, so sure of success do the promoters of Maxwell's candidature seem to have been, that on 2nd December, 1524,

²⁹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Letter No. 852.

Henry VIII. wrote to Pope Clement VII., asking him to grant the request of James V. that John Stewart might be appointed abbot of Dundrennan, vacant by the promotion of John Maxwell to Melrose.³⁰ But matters had not advanced quite so far as that. Others had eyes upon Melrose, and notably the Archbishop of St Andrews was using all his influence in favour of his nephew, Andrew Durie. Not only so, but the archbishop had succeeded by some means³¹ in getting James's support for Durie also, with the result that towards the end of 1524 news reached Scotland that the latter had been appointed. At once efforts were set on foot to have the appointment revoked. James wrote Wolsey protesting that the archbishop had surreptitiously procured his letters in favour of Durie, and urging the English King and Wolsey to use their influence with the Pope to have the appointment set aside.³² The designing Queen-Dowager was seriously apprehensive regarding the prospects of her £1000 pension, and writes thus to her brother, the English King, on 23rd January, 1525: "Item, gif it plese Zour Grace to remembre yat I have written of before for ye expeditioun of ye bullis of Melrose, quharthrocht I

³⁰ *Ibid.* Letter No. 901.

³¹ The King was a mere boy, and was simply a tool in the hands of others.—*Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 301, 302.

³² *Letters and Papers*, etc. Letter No. 907.

will have sped to me ane pensione of 1000£ zerlie, quhilk will help me in sumpart; richt humlie beseking Zour Grace to help me to ye furthering of yat promotioun to my Lord Maxwellis bruder; for, quhill ye said promotioun be sped, I wil nocht get ye said pensioune. Tharfore I desire hertlie yat Zour Grace ger ansuer Maister Johnne Lauder my servand, being with ye Ambassiatouris now in Londoune, of ye somme of 400£ Scottis money for ye expeditioun of ye said pensioune: and, falzeing of zour said bank, yat he may be ansuerit in Rome of ye somme abone writtin, as I dowl nocht bot Zour Grace will.”³³ For some considerable time longer the struggle between the two aspirants or their respective parties continued. In the middle of 1526 the matter is before the Scottish Parliament. The King, who had granted his letters in favour of his “devote and weil belouit orator, Dene Jhone maxwell abbot of dundrynañ,” is annoyed that a nomination by him in favour of Durie had been obtained “be surreptiouñ”: therefore in parliament (14th June, 1526) he “revokis and adnullis all sic lřez in this pñt pliamēt gevin in favor of the said Maist’ Andro. . . . And ratifyis and appreis the lřez gevin in favors of his said devote orator the abbot of dundrynañ And that new lřez be gevin in favors of him geif neid be.” But notwith-

³³ *State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, vol. iv., part iv., p. 295.

standing all this royal patronage, the appointment went past Maxwell, and the Queen-Dowager would have to turn her thoughts elsewhere for a pension. By 2nd December, 1526, we find Sir Christopher Dacre thus writing to Lord Dacre³⁴:—"Drurye, a monke of Murouse Abbey, has gotten the bulles of the same Abbey at Rome, and caused them be proclamed; whiche has done grete displeasure to my Lorde Maxwell; for it will put his broder from the same by likelyhode, notwithstanding the King and the Lordes at this Parliament has inacted that no Scotisman shall prevale no benefice at the Poppes hand, excepte that they have licence of the King and the Lordes of the Counsaile."

It was abuses such as these, not less than the Church's doctrinal defection from the truth of Scripture and other manifest evils, which gave strength and energy to the movement which culminated in the Reformation of 1560. Ulterior motives undoubtedly there were which influenced some men's minds and actions at that great crisis; but, as a whole, there was revolt on the part of the Church's members against patent abuses that were being tolerated, and nothing had so contributed to the popular demand for reform as the decay of the monastic institution which by the sixteenth century had long outlived its day of usefulness.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. iv., part iv., p. 461.

While parliamentary sanction was given in 1560 to the work of reformation, some considerable time elapsed before full effect could be given to the changes which such a crisis involved. Summary enactments were passed forbidding the practice of the old religious rites, but the civil status of the adherents of the old faith was not so seriously threatened for a time. We have the curious spectacle not only of bishops, but of abbots and priors, continuing to sit for many years in the Scottish Parliament and vote as the representatives of the Scottish Church. Moreover, two-thirds of the ecclesiastical revenues were still allowed to the former recipients, while the Reformed Church had in the first instance assigned to it only one-third until it should gradually become possessed of its whole patrimony. John Knox, we know, had great and grand ideas as to how the Church's wealth should be ultimately used. It should be devoted to the maintenance of the ministry, to the education of the young, and to the support of the poor. But alas! Knox's ideas were never fully realised. Even before the Reformation was consummated in 1560, its approach was so evident that a considerable transference of Church property into other hands had already taken place. After the Reformation the same process went on apace. Thus on 28th January, 1567-68, Edward Maxwell, the commendator of Dundrennan, granted with

consent of his chapter a charter in favour of his younger brother James of a considerable part of the abbey lands.³⁵ On James's death the property passed into the hands of a natural brother John, and again on his death it reverted to the commendator himself. The extent of Edward's gift, which thus proved eventually to be to himself, embraced the lands of Newlaw and Monks Muir, Chapelton, Auchinnabyne, Nether Rerik, Fawgra, Meikle Balmangand, Little Balmangand, Roscarald, Achinlek, Forest, Stokane, Achincarne, and Culdrock. A similar disposal of Church property was taking place throughout the country. "Mitred abbacies and priories were transformed by a little varnish of law into temporal lordships, so that scores of the very best estates in Scotland went to men who had never done any service to Church or State further than that they had some Court influence, or were powerful enough to help themselves."³⁶ In 1587, however, an important act was passed by parliament annexing the temporalities of all benefices to the Crown. By this act the Church was deprived of her lands, but was still permitted to remain in possession of the teinds. King James was sorely in need of money, and this spoliation of the Church was

³⁵ McKerlie. The grant was confirmed by the King on 1st March 1576-7.

³⁶ James Rankin, D.D., *Handbook of the Church of Scotland*, p. 146.

deemed one of the easiest ways of replenishing the royal exchequer. But James was not less guilty of sacrilege in despoiling the Church of her property than he was guilty of folly in disposing of his spoil. Personally he did not benefit to such an extent as might be supposed. He was foolish enough to squander what the act gave him on Court favourites and others. Thus on 9th July, 1606, there was passed by parliament an act erecting Dundrennan into a temporal lordship in favour of John Murray, who had succeeded to the commendatorship of the abbey on the death of Edward Maxwell on 29th September, 1598: and the act may be quoted as marking the close of the monastery's history and as a fair example of the way in which the wealth of the monasteries was disposed of:—

“OURE SOUERANE LORD with advyse and cōsent of the Estaittis of this pnt pliamēt Remembering the gude trew and thankfull seruice done be his maties Trustie and familiar seruitor Johne murray grome of his maties bedchalmer in Continuall attendance vpoun his mateis sacrate persone quhairin he hes behavit himself maist faithfullie and deutyfullie As is Noto^r and weill knawin to the saidis Estaittis THAIRFOIR or said souerane Lord and Estaittis of this pnt parliament dissoluis all & sindrie the landis baroneis Touris fortalices maner places Mylnis multuris woddis fischeingis ānualrentis

caynis Customes casualiteis emolumentis & dueteis quhatsumeuir of the temporalitie of the abbacie of drundrennan fra the act of ānexatioun maid in his hienes pliament haldin AT Edinbur^t the tuentie nynt day of Julij the zeir of God J^m V^c fourscoir sevin zeiris ānexand the temporalitie of all benefices within this realme To the patrimonie of his hienes Crowne with the precinct Monasterie and manerplace of dundrēnan ffra the said abbacie of dundrēnan And benefice thair of quhairvnto the samī pertenis and pertenit of auld Togidder with the haill spiritualitie of the kirkis of the samyn Abbacie viz the kirkis of dundrēnane alias ririk and kirkmabrek with all and sindrie teyndscheves vtheris teyndis fruittis rentis proffeittis proventis emolumentis and dueteis quhatsumeuir ptenīg and belanging thairto And that the saidis Estaittis of parliamēt ffindis it necessar and expedient that his matie be his hienes Infestmēt to be maid with advyse of his mateis ordinar officiaris Sall gif grant and dispone to the said Johne murray and his airis maill and ass'nais quhatsumeuir All and sindrie the saidis landis baroneis touris fortalices manerplaces mylnis Multuris woddis fischeingis ānualrentis Caynis customes casualiteis emolumentis and dueteis quhatsumeuir of the temporalitie of the said Abbacie / kirkis of dundrēnan and kirkmabrek Teyndscheves thair of vtheris teyndis fruittis rentis proffeittis and emolu-

mētis ptenīg thairto with all richt titill interes and clame of richt qlk his matie his predecessouris and successouris had hes or onywayes may haue or clame thairto or ony pairt thairto be ony maner of way in tyme cūmīg To be Erectit vnit maid creat and incorporat in all and haill ane frie baronie To be callit in all tyme cūmīg the baronie of dundrēnan And ordinis the manerplace of dundrēnan To be the prin^{ll} Messuage of the said haill baronie of dundrēnan for taking seasing thairat in all tyme cūmīg And lykwayes the saidis Estaittis Suppress' and extinguisches perpetualie in all tyme cūmīg the said Abbay and Monasterie of dundrēnan And declaris na persone nor persones to be pydyt thairto in ony tyme cūmīg heireftir And ordinis ane Infestmēt to be past vnder his hienes great seall heirvpoun To be haldin of o^r said souerane lord and his successouris in frie blenche frie heretage and frie baronie for euir Gevand thairfoir zeirlie the said Johne murray and his foirsaidis To o^r said souerane Lord and his successouris the sowme of fourtie pundis vsuale money of this realme of scotland zeirlie at the feist of witsonday in Name of blenche ferme alanerly with ane speciall Remitt and discharge w^t cōsent of the Collecto^r gñall of the haill thriddis of the said abbacie of dundrēnane alsweill victuall as money And of the haill monkis portionis of the samyn Abbacie / becaus his

Maiestie will be relevit and dischargeit of the sustentatioun of the Ministerie of the kirkis thair of And als' decernis all pensionis disponit furth of the thriddis of the said abbacie in ony tyme bigane To be null in all tyme cūmīg And o^r said souerane lord and Estaittis of pliamēt hes interponit and interponis thair cōsent and Authoritie to the said dispositioun and to the infestmēt to follow thairvpoun now as gif it wer alreadie maid and Perfytit and than as now As that deid quhilk is now and sall be in all tymes heireftir estemit and Judgeit for the weill of o^r said souerane lord and for ane seand ³⁷ proffeit and cōmoditie to his crowne & realme of Scotland for euir." ³⁸

Even before this royal grant had been made to

³⁷ Fitting, seemly. "This term occurs frequently in the acts of James VI. and is merely a variation of French *seant*, fitting, seemly, becoming."—Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

³⁸ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. iv., p. 326. The act was ratified in 1609, and again in 1612. John Murray, to whom this grant was made (for which he was required to pay the King yearly only the nominal sum of £40 Scots), was already the commendator of Dundrennan, and was created the first Earl of Annandale in 1624. Through the Earl of Morton he was in early life brought into association with King James, from whom he received appointment as groom of the bedchamber. Accompanying his master to London in 1603, he became more and more a confidential servant and friend of the Sovereign. He was made keeper of the privy purse, and, when the King was disabled by a sore hand from signing documents, it was to Murray that there was committed the custody of the signature stamp used by the King. He was made the recipient of

Murray, it would appear that by royal letters patent (6th February, 1605) James had bestowed Dundrennan Abbey with its property and revenues upon Gavin Hamilton, who, on the re-introduction of Episcopacy, had been promoted to the See of Galloway. But the grant to Hamilton had been very soon suppressed in favour of that to Murray. In turn Murray resigned Dundrennan, and in 1621 the abbey was annexed to the Deanery of the Chapel-Royal at Stirling. This act was ratified in 1633. But from a grant made in July of that year in favour of Robert Maxwell of Orchardton, we learn that while in Murray's possession abbey lands were already passing into other hands. In 1645 parliament ratified this grant to Maxwell, confirming a charter "granted be vm^qle Johne erle of Annandail To vm^qle sr Robert Maxwell of spottes kny^t father to the said Robert Maxwell his aires and assigneyes

many honours, and had charter of many lands; and in these charters his royal master makes profuse acknowledgment of his indebtedness to him, in some cases referring to his "almost incredible labours" in his behalf. In 1606 (as stated above) and again in 1612 the abbacy of Dundrennan and other lands, with the castle of Lochmaben, were erected in his favour into a temporal lordship. In 1617 he had also by the same royal favour bestowed on him Holywood Abbey and part of Lincluden. In 1622 he was created Viscount Annand, and in 1624 Earl of Annandale. He continued as groom of the bedchamber to Charles I., and in 1638 he was sent north to Scotland to assist the King's party against the Covenanters. He died in 1640. *Vide* Balfour Paul's *The Scots Peerage*.

heritable and irredeemable Off the date the fourth day of November J^m vj^c and twelve yeeres Off all and sundrie the landes and otheres underwrittne viz :
—Off all and haill the Landes of Netherlaw eister and wester extending to ane eightene pund land of auld extent with the teyndes thereof includit whilkes are not separat from the ground All and haill the landes of overhessillfeild extending to ane four merke land of old extent with the teyndes thereof includit q^lkes are not separat from the ground All and haill the tua cornemylnes of Dundrennane The ane thereof callit the mylne of Auchincairne And the other the mylne of Nether Reirike with mylnelandes mul-toures sequelles and watter ganges thair of and teyndes of the samene includit w^{ch} are not separat from the ground All and haill the fiftie shilling land of old extent of Nether Linkings All and haill the fourthie shilling land of Ballcaskie All and haill the halfe merke land of Ballcarie with the fishing callit the fishing zair and woodes thereof and teyndes of the samene includit Whilkes are not separat from the ground All and haill ane crofte of land callit Turnoures croft extending to four aikeris of land or thereby lyand besyde the Abbacie of Dundrennane With the teyndes thereof includit q^lkes are not separat from the ground With all and sundrie the toures fortalices maner places housis biggings

zairdes fishinges of salmond and otheres fishes
 ānexis connexis outsettes pairtes pendicles and per-
 tinentes thairof whatsomevir Lyand within the
 baronie of Dundrennane and stewartrie of kirke-
 cudbryt.”³⁹

It is not necessary to pursue the matter further. These extracts from the acts of the Scottish Parliament not only declare the cessation of monastic life and activity at Dundrennan, but show how the wealth attached to the monastery came to be disposed of and passed from one to another. It may be sufficient to conclude with a statement of Symson⁴⁰ who in 1684 declares: “The Bishop of Dunblaine, as Dean of the chapel-royal, is patron of the parish of Rerick, or Dundranen, and hath a part of his revenue paid out of the lands of that Abbacy; he hath also a bailerie here, heritable exerc’d by the Earl of Nithisdale, whose jurisdiction reacheth over the whole parish, except one Baronrie called Kirk-castel, belonging to the Laird of Broughton.”

³⁹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. vi., part i., pp. 424, 425. The old and contracted forms of the words “the,” “thereof” and “thereby” have in the above extract been modernised. “Vmgle,” of course, means deceased, and “qlkes” or “whilkes,” which.

⁴⁰ *Large Description of Galloway*, p. 33.

CHAPTER IV.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY :

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY.

IT is a common belief that the destruction of monastic buildings throughout the country is to be attributed to violent outbreaks on the part of Protestant mobs at the time of the Reformation. That some monasteries were overthrown through the excesses of "the rascal multitude," as Knox phrases it, is undoubted. But it is equally certain that the destruction of others can in no way be laid at the door of the Protestants. Even before the Reformation had taken place such well-known abbeys as Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, and Melrose had suffered much at the hands of English armies. The probability is that the great majority of the monasteries, as they became deprived of their inmates, were simply allowed to fall into decay, and as that decay increasingly asserted itself the work of destruction was hastened and completed by human hands. The decaying monastic buildings provided convenient quarries out of which all and sundry

seemed to think themselves at liberty to supply their needs.

So far as Dundrennan is concerned, we have evidence that it was in a state of disrepair nearly twenty years before the Reformation. On 3rd November, 1543, Abbot Adam granted to James Makgill and Janet Adamson, his spouse, a charter of the lands of Larg, Glenquyckin and Dargawell in the abbey's barony of Ferry-of-Cree for 600 merks (equal to about £300 at the present value of money), which sum was intended for the repair of the church of the monastery, "already in its western part in a ruinous condition."¹ It was evidently the increasing activity of the reform party that stirred the worthy abbot to set about this work of restoration shortly after his appointment to the abbacy.² To what extent the western part of the church may have been "ruinous" it is impossible to say, for the western part has now largely disappeared. But the zeal of the newly-appointed abbot, and the efforts which the Church began to put forth to remedy some of the more patent abuses in the hope of staying the advance of Protestantism, incline us to the belief that the ruin

¹ "Jam in occidentali parte ruinosæ." *Reg. Great Seal*, vol. 1513-1546, p. 729.

² "Habita consideratione quod status ecclesie in Scotia multum periclitatus est per eos qui hereticam pravitatem insequentes se obsequium prestare Deo putabant si monasteria claustralia omnino destruerent." *Ibid.*, p. 729.

would be repaired, and the monastery with its church would again be in good condition when the reform movement came to success. That its destruction cannot be laid to the charge of Protestant fanaticism in the early days of the Protestant ascendancy is manifest from the fact that Queen Mary is believed to have found shelter within its walls in 1568; but even more important than that is the contemporary evidence furnished by Leslie, that in 1578, eighteen years after the Reformation, Dundrennan had as yet sustained no damage. He makes express mention at that date of "Drundrennen, Salsiden (Soulseat), our Ladys Inche (St Mary's Isle) quhais kirkis all and clostiris throuch the wisdome and authoritie of certane illustir and nobill men standis zit haill."³ If Dundrennan survived a Protestant outbreak for eighteen years, it is not likely to have succumbed to such at a later date when the original passion had somewhat cooled down.

At what date the work of demolition actually began it is not possible to say. We have seen that in 1606 parliament passed an act forbidding the further appointment of any person or persons to the abbacy. In all likelihood this act, marking a complete severance from the past, indicates the time after

³ John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland*, p. 13 (Scot. Text Society Edition. Dalrymple's translation). *Adhuc intacta* in the original.

which the process of demolition would be begun. It has been asserted by some that the abbey church, and by others that the chapter-house, was used for a time as the church of the parish; but we can find no corroboration for either assertion.* At the same time they may quite possibly have been so used. McKerlie's statement is that the old parish church (which, according to Timothy Pont's map, stood some little distance to the north of the abbey) was still in use in the time of Charles I. (1625-1649), and that it was after this the abbey served the purpose of the parish church. But it so happens that we know that in 1642 the abbey buildings were already being used

* The statement is made in more than one quarter that the abbey church was used as the parish church till 1742. That cannot possibly have been the case. In 1743 the Rev. William Jameson, minister of the parish, presented a petition to the presbytery of Kirkcudbright from which it is evident that the building previously used as the parish church was the old chapel at Rerrick, a building which continued to be so used until it was taken down in 1865 when a new parish church was built in the village of Dundrennan. Mr Jameson sought the presbytery to interpose their authority with the object of having the church repaired. In his petition he states that "the Kirk of Rerrick hath been in a ruinous condition both as to walls and roof for these severall years past, which your petitioner finds very prejudiciall to his health, having preached severall times during these two winters past when the rains and snow have by the wind beat upon the pulpitt to the great danger of his life as is well known to the congregation. And though," he continues, "there was a visitation of said Kirk summer was a year when the presbytery ordered a reparation thereof, and recommended it to the gentlemen of the parish to mult stint themselves and to appoint collectors for uplifting the

as a convenient quarry, for in that year the spire of the old Courthouse in Kirkcudbright was built, and the stone for its erection was obtained from Dundrennan Abbey—the top stone on which the vane rests being a capital of one of the piers of the chapter-house. Of course, the abbey embraced many buildings; and the refectory, dormitory, frater, infirmary, and even the extensive wall which must have surrounded the whole monastery, may have been brought under contribution before ever a sacrilegious hand was laid upon the church. But there at any rate, in 1642, we see the vandal at work. Nearly half a century later, in 1684, the Town

sums allocate, yet nothing effectually was done, but in place thereof some of said gentlemen entered into a private paction in order to repair the same, and in consequence thereof took off the rigging-stone from the one-half or two-thirds of said kirk and only began the reparation of said house without finishing any one part, so that for that and other reasons the kirk is in a worse state than before.” It is satisfactory to record that, in response to this plaintive petition, the presbytery took vigorous action, and spurred the heritors on, not only to a thorough renovation but to a considerable enlargement of the church. When once the heritors got started they were not long in getting the work accomplished, for by February of the next year the presbytery were back again superintending a re-allocation of seats; and, after the division of the seating accommodation had been made among the heritors in proportion to the valuation of their properties, it was found that there remained two inches still not allocated, and these two inches were declared to be a *commune bonum*. Two inches for all the parishioners for whom accommodation had not otherwise been provided!

Council of Kirkcudbright are in need of some more stone, and they are said to have paid a man a small coin and a pint of ale to throw down the necessary material from Dundrennan Abbey. Nearly another century passes—dark ages that keep concealed the destroyers at their work—and when the light begins to shine we see the havoc that has been wrought, and the ancient fane almost in as ruinous a condition as it is now. Richard Pococke, the bishop of Meath, included Dundrennan in his Scottish Tour of 1760: and from his description of the ruins as he found them we see how extensive was the demolition that had taken place. A few years later the Rev. William Robb, Tongland, in a communication, dated 13th January, 1789, to General Hutton, preserved among the Hutton Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, reports thus concerning Dundrennan: "It was tore down to build the present manse,⁴ and a large clauchan of houses beside it, built with freystones, and a gentleman's house closs by at Newlaw belonging to Mr Cairns." Several engravings of the ruins about this period help us to appreciate even better than words how far the process of destruction had proceeded. Pococke gives one of the north transept and chancel taken from the north, which corresponds very closely with the existing remains. Adam de Cardonnel, whose drawings

⁴ Demolished in 1874, when a new manse was built.

in his *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland* are dated 1788, shows us the ruins from three points of view, and they reveal only a little more of the buildings standing than is now the case. Francis Grose, too, whose antiquarian interests stirred Burns to describe him in the well-known couplet —

“A chield’s amang you takin’ notes,
And, faith, he’ll prent it,”

has likewise left on record in two engravings the state of Dundrennan Abbey at the time he visited it.⁵

The visits of men such as these, with their drawings and descriptions, are indicative of a new spirit that was taking possession of men in regard to the things of the past. Not yet, it is true, was this spirit very general. Still, the age of wanton destruction was happily passing away, though the age of preservation and restoration had not yet fully arrived. For some years longer the abbey continued to suffer neglect. Rubbish lay everywhere, and in the course of the intervening centuries the mounds had become covered with a natural grass. Cattle wandered at will among the ruins, lowing at e’en where monks were wont to sing their vespers. Ugly projections were raised against walls and pillars to shut off the churchyard beyond from the intrusion of such unwelcome visitors. At last in 1838 the restorer came. At his own expense

⁵ *Antiquities of Scotland*, 1789-91.

the Earl of Selkirk began to save the ruin from absolute dilapidation. A great clearance of débris took place.⁶ In the chapter-house there were unearthed what is known as the Abbot's Monument and the Cellarer's Stone as well as the Memorial Stone of Sir William Livingstone; in addition to which there was "a solid mass of old tombstones" with which the floor of the chapter-house seems to have been paved.⁷ The memorials were ordered to be covered up again and restored to the position in which they were found. Not far from the plain octagon column that stands alone to the south of the chapter-house there was discovered "a fire-place, or oven's place, with a hearth-stone on which most evidently many a fire had made its appearance." In all probability this was the fire-place of the calefactory or warming-house. In another quarter the workmen came upon a great number of human bones, and turned up vast quantities of slates of a coarse description. But, in addition to this clearance of débris and levelling of soil, Lord Selkirk effected some repairs upon the buildings themselves.

⁶ For account of Lord Selkirk's operations see the short *History of Dundrennan Abbey with its Relics*, published in 1839 by J. McDiarmid, Dumfries.

⁷ This floor was examined in 1912, and certain hitherto unknown grave slabs of abbots were brought to light. The "solid mass of tombstones" was evidently some freestone pavement which was found.

Still, though happily a beginning had been made, it was not a great deal that Lord Selkirk was able to accomplish. How little had been done, and in what a dilapidated condition things remained, is perhaps best indicated by the impression the ruins left upon the mind of Lord Cockburn when he visited them in the following year. His lordship had been in the south-west on judicial business, and he stayed a day or two with his friend, the laird of Cumstoun, who was also proprietor of the estate of Dundrennan. On returning to Cumstoun from his visit to the old abbey he records his impressions the same evening in his diary, and he delivers himself of this characteristic piece of pungent criticism⁸:—"Cumpston, Friday, 27th September, 1839, night. To-day we went and saw the Abbey of Dundrennan. Though greatly abridged, it is still a beautiful and interesting mass. But every other feeling is superseded by one's horror and indignation at the state in which it is kept. If it had been an odious and offensive building, which the Crown and the adjoining landowners were trying to obliterate as fast as possible, and to render disgusting and inaccessible in the meantime, what else could they do? Five pounds worth of draining, £20 worth of clearing and levelling, and £200 of masonry would preserve it in decency for centuries. But (though a little has been done, and ill done) it is

⁸ *Circuit Journeys*, pp. 62, 63.

left a victim to every element, man included, by which architecture can be effaced. Not a trace of it will be discoverable in fifty years. Arches and windows might be rescued by the labour of one man for a single day; but it is dealt with as if spite hated it. No execration can do justice to the careless or selfish insensibility that can obstinately persevere in the daily perpetration of such atrocity. My excellent and esteemed host, in whose house I now am, and on whose ground this abbey stands, is the chief delinquent. And the value of the case is that he is a most liberal and right-minded gentleman, because this shows that the mischief proceeds from no positively improper object, but from that absence of right feeling which, on such subjects, seems to be nearly universal among Scotch proprietors. They gaze on the glorious ruins of noble buildings, over which time and history delight to linger, and which give their estates all the dignity they possess, with exactly the same emotion that the cattle do, to which these impressive edifices are generally consigned. It is a humiliating, national scandal."

How much more in similar strain his lordship poured forth upon the head of his host of Cumstoun history does not relate. But it is at least significant that in the course of about a year definite steps were taken for the preservation of the ruins. A memorial was got up, asking that the Commissioners of Woods



THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

and Forests should take them under their care: this was presented to Government by the Convener of the county, Mr Adam Maitland of Dundrennan (Lord Cockburn's host), and there was this further element favouring a successful reply to the memorialists that Mr Maitland's son⁹ was Solicitor-General for Scotland at the time. The issue was that by the beginning of 1841 the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were already at work. As the parish manse and grounds are in close proximity to the abbey, the co-operation of the minister and of the heritors was also sought in the matter. The minister of Rerrick has certain rights of pasturage over the abbey precincts, founded upon a decree pronounced 24th June, 1696, by the Commissioners of Teinds, who, in a process of augmentation of stipend, appointed "the precincts of the Abbacy of Dundrennan with the pertinents thereof to be possessed by the pursuer and his successors in all time coming, and that in augmentation of his present glebe and grass fog." While guarding this right as pertaining to the benefice, the Rev. James Thomson entered heartily into the scheme of the Woods and Forests' Commissioners, and did much to preserve the amenity of the ruins. The same is equally true of the heritors. The steading and stackyard attached to the manse

⁹ Thomas Maitland, afterwards Lord Dundrennan, who was married to a sister of Lord Cockburn's wife.

actually occupied the site immediately in front of the great west door of the abbey. These the heritors decided to remove. Meantime, much progress was being made within. The soil was levelled and tons of débris were cleared away. The walls were carefully examined, and judicious repairs were executed. The memorial stones discovered by Lord Selkirk were once again unearthed. Round the whole ruins there was partly repaired and partly built a substantial boundary wall by means of which all gaps were filled up, and there was left the great west door as the only avenue of access to the abbey.

Thus what Lord Cockburn so greatly desiderated had come to pass. The expenditure of a few hundred pounds had saved the abbey for at least half a century longer. And when that half-century had elapsed Government again spent a considerable sum of money upon the ruins. Each summer since 1906 operations, which are now nearing completion, have been proceeding at the abbey. Vegetation that had grown upon the walls has been removed, and even the mantle of ivy that lent for many years such picturesqueness to the ancient edifice has suffered in these operations. Its removal, however, as that of the other forms of vegetation, was necessary in order to allow of a most thorough examination of every part of the buildings and the careful repair of these which followed. Foundation work has been better

exposed to view. Much soil has again been removed that the proper floor-level of the conventual buildings might be reached, and the chapter-house and other apartments now show to better advantage. Altogether, much credit is due to those in charge for the judicious manner in which the operations have been conducted. If Dundrennan cannot be completely restored, the absolute neglect of former years is now happily come to an end.



THE ABBEY FROM NORTH-WEST.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE RUINS. ¹

IN describing the ruins as they now are, we may premise that Dundrennan Abbey occupies an ideal site for a Cistercian monastery. "St Bernard," observes a writer, "always loved the valleys, surrounded on each side by leafy trees and pleasant meadows and streams, but St Benedict loved the ridges and crests swelling to the heavens, from whose

¹ Apart from notices by earlier visitors, the ruins have been more carefully described by the Rev. Æ. B. Hutchison in *Memorials of the Abbey of Dundrennan*, (1857); by the Rev. George McConachie, minister of Rerrick, (ob. 1901), in the Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, (1891), and in Harper's *Rambles in Galloway*, (1896); also by MacGibbon and Ross in *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, (1896), and in a volume issued by the same writers for the Ayr and Galloway Archæological Association, entitled, *The Five Great Churches of Galloway*, (1899). Mention may here be made of the fact that the present writer has recently carried out some excavation in the garden at Rerrick Manse which embraces part of the site of the monastery. He has been fortunate in discovering a considerable extent of foundations, and is able to determine the ground plan of most of the buildings on the south side of the cloister, notably the refectory and the house of the lay brethren.

top a wide prospect is obtained : both loved seclusion from the world." St Bernard, the bright particular star of the Cistercian revival, "loved the valleys" and "seclusion from the world" : and down on the banks of streams running through these valleys the Cistercians planted their monasteries. But though the writer quoted speaks of the "pleasant" meadows that they loved, it should be remembered to the credit of the monks that the meadows were not always pleasant. Citeaux, where Cistercianism had its origin, is described by the historian Milman as an "obstinate wilderness. . . . Nothing could appear more stubborn, more dismal, more hopeless than this spot." And Clairvaux, where a monastery was founded for Bernard and his companions, was formerly known as the Valley of Wormwood, "infamous as a den of robbers. . . . It was a savage, terrible solitude, so utterly barren that at first they were reduced to live on beech-leaves." Such was the character of the districts where the earlier Cistercian houses were commonly planted. We ought not to do any injustice to the monks (as is sometimes done in ignorance) by insinuating that they chose the "pleasant" places. On the contrary, when we remember the severity of the Cistercian discipline, and recollect that manual labour entered very largely into that discipline, we may realise that the pleasantness of many a monastic site is largely due to the

monks themselves; that it is through their artificial draining of the land and their other agricultural operations that many a dreary swamp has become converted into a fertile meadow, and many a wilderness now blossoms as a rose.

The monastery of Dundrennan, like others, would be surrounded by a large wall enclosing an area of several acres in extent. No trace of this wall now exists. Somewhere in this wall there would be a porter's lodge and a gateway by which access would be had from the outside world into the precincts. It may be remarked here that the abbey is built of a hard, durable freestone, grey in colour but with a tinge of red in it. The stone was obtained within the parish from a quarry on the property of Netherlaw, which Pococke, by a mistake excusable in an Irishman, calls Lough Nadir.

The present access to the ruins is by the great west door of the church. Before entering, we remark that the face of the west front has been much renewed, probably at the time the buildings were taken over by Government. In many abbeys a lean-to porch adorned the west front, but there does not seem to have been one here. There may have been two smaller doors on the west, one on each side of the main centre door. The base of the doorway on the north side is plainly discernible, but one cannot be sure of a door on the south. The great west door has

a pointed arch recessed. The mouldings rested on three long detached shafts, only one of which is still in position. The detached shaft is an indication of early work. So, too, is the "nail-head" ornamentation, which will be noticed here and at other parts of the ruins.

THE NAVE.

Passing through the doorway, we find ourselves immediately within the Nave. At our left in the recess of the built-up small doorway there are several memorials, of which a description is given in the succeeding chapter. (Memorials numbered 7, 8, 9, and 13). The north and south walls of the nave remain only to a height of three or four feet, and these were rebuilt when Government took over the charge of the abbey. At the junction of the north wall with the north transept the remains of a Norman window can be seen, and probably there were eight windows of this type in this wall. The nave was furnished with north and south aisles, and the foundations of the piers which separated these aisles from the nave for the most part remain. The piers were seven in number on each side, issuing with the tower and west wall piers in eight, probably pointed, bays. The character of these piers, twelve-clustered and rising out of a round Norman base, may be gathered from the surviving portion of the south pier nearest the door. Indications in the founda-

tions of the fifth piers on each side suggest that the choir screen ran across the nave at this point. On



BASE OF PIER IN NAVE.

our right, placed against the south wall of the nave, there may be seen a large number of stones, portions of groining, bosses and what has been thought to be part of the choir screen. At the eastern extremity of this wall there is an opening, which indicates the position of the doorway by which the monks usually entered the church from the cloister when proceeding to the choir to engage in their services.

THE CROSSING.

The Crossing was surmounted by a tower, which tradition declares to have been two hundred feet in height. There can be little doubt that this is an exaggeration. It was quite contrary to the rule of the Cistercians to adorn their monasteries with lofty towers. Even Newabbey and Melrose show towers of quite moderate proportions, and as Dundrennan

is one of the earlier monasteries, built at a time when the rigidity of the rule would be in no way relaxed, we may be quite sure it did not differ from them in respect of the height of its tower. The tower would probably terminate in a saddle-back roof. It is worthy of notice that the two western piers are quite different in shape.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

In the Transepts we see the mixed style of architecture which makes Dundrennan one of the most interesting specimens of the Transitional period. "The doorway, windows, buttresses, and other features of the greater part of the north transept and choir may almost be regarded as Norman in style, while the main arcade and triforium of the transept have a more advanced character, verging on the first-pointed."² The threshold of the doorway of the north transept is formed by a step which has excised upon it a small floral cross enclosed within a circle. "It is very usual," says Edward L. Cutts,³ "to find a cross slab as the threshold of one of the church doors, especially of the south door, or of the south porch; denoting the humility of the deceased, or perhaps alluding to the text, 'I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.' Some of the stones which

² MacGibbon and Ross, *The Five Churches of Galloway*, p. 61.

³ *Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, pp. 28, 29.

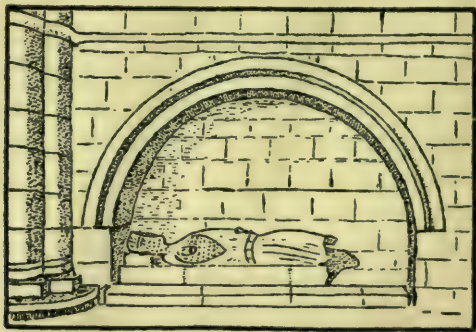
we find in this position may very probably have been removed there merely to supply a worn threshold stone; but the instances in which we find them thus are very numerous, and in many cases the stone has all the appearance of being in its original position." In the present instance the stone has evidently been subsequently placed here. Above the north doorway are two large Norman windows deeply splayed and recessed within two semi-circular arches which extend the full width of the wall. Above these windows again are two smaller pointed windows, part of one, however, having been blown down by a storm in 1839. In the portion of wall carried away by this storm there was above these pointed windows a small window which, in the drawings of Pococke, Cardonnel and Grose, is shown to be rectangular. The west side of the north transept is lighted by four Norman windows, the two clerestory windows being rather larger than the two below. A complete pointed arch spanning the entrance to the north aisle of the nave also remains on this side. The east side of the transept shows three bays, rising from piers having Norman bases and capitals, the arches being extremely pointed. Above these arches is the triforium, and over this again are three Norman clerestory windows, only half the size of those on the west side. MacGibbon and Ross ⁴ describe the

⁴ *The Five Churches of Galloway*, p. 61.

east side of the transept as the most remarkable part of the edifice. "The windows of the clerestory are the same in design as those of the remainder of the transept and the choir, but they are reduced in height by the introduction of the triforium above the string course which goes round the other sides below the sills of the upper windows. The string course is raised by three steps of about 10 inches each, so as to make room for the arches of the main arcade—the first step is at the north-west angle of the transept, the second in the centre of the north wall, and the other in the north-east angle of the main walls. There has evidently been some difficulty and hesitation about the introduction of the triforium. It looks as if it had been an afterthought."

The north transept, like the south, is furnished with an east aisle, the east wall of which has almost all disappeared, but enough remains to show part of a Norman window. The aisle, which had a groined roof, part of which remains, would be used as a chapel or chapels, furnished with two, if not three, altars; and its northern and southern sections were probably partitioned off from the transept by wooden screens, inserted into the channels cut in the bases of the responds and piers. Under the Norman window in the north wall of the aisle there is a niche with a rounded arch, in which is a much-mutilated figure in a recumbent attitude. This monument is locally

known as "The Belted Knight." It will be noticed that the figure is represented as clad in a hauberk of chain mail over which there is a long surcoat. There is a belt round the waist, and another over the right shoulder. The right hand seems to have grasped the hilt of a long sword, which lay upon the body. A shield would probably have adorned the left side of the figure. The head rests upon a pillow. Unfortunately, the face of the figure has been ruthlessly destroyed, and the arms and the legs are wanting. But enough of the latter remains to reveal two most interesting facts. First, the armour is of pure chain mail, there being no plate armour on the knees—and



MONUMENT OF ALAN, LORD OF GALLOWAY.

plates on the knees were among the earliest of the extra defences to be introduced in armour. That took place about 1250; and therefore the date of this

monument must be placed earlier than that. The other very interesting fact is that the legs were crossed. In England a number of monuments have figures in this attitude of repose, but in Ireland there are fewer, and in Scotland there are fewer still. Various interpretations are offered of the crossing of the legs, some asserting that the person so commemorated had taken part in the Crusades, while others hold that it signifies no more than that he had been a benefactor of the Church. The latter is the more probable explanation. The monument is now generally accepted as that of Alan, Lord of Galloway, who, according to the *Melrose Chronicle*, was buried in Dundrennan Abbey in 1234. Alan, the last Lord of Galloway, was the great-grandson of Fergus, to whom the honour of founding Dundrennan is given by some. In addition to being Lord of Galloway, he held the office of Constable of Scotland and was styled "The Great." He was the possessor of vast estates, not only in Scotland, but in England, and was one of the most powerful nobles of his time. King John of England appealed to him for assistance in his invasion of Ireland, asking him to send to Chester a thousand of his best and most active Galwegians, which he did. As one of the great English barons Alan was present at Runnymede in 1215, when King John was compelled to grant the renowned Magna Charta of English liberty. The

position of Alan among the great barons of the land may in some degree be judged by the fact that the names of only four temporal lords precede his name in that historic document, while those of eleven others follow it. Later he assisted the King in his opposition to the rebel, Hugh de Lacy, watching him with his galleys off the coast of Ireland. Lacy submitted in 1224, and next year Alan obtained permission to lease his lands in Ireland and place tenants on them. He married as his third wife in 1228 Lacy's daughter. By a previous marriage he was the father of Devorgilla, founder of Sweetheart Abbey and mother of John Balliol, King of Scotland. He died in 1234, having exercised in his day great influence, and having been a large benefactor of the Church.⁵ In front of Alan's tomb a large flat slab on the ground bears the following in-

⁵ According to Hutchison (*Memorials*, p. 32), a visitor to the ruins in 1722 declared that there was then in existence a monument of freestone with a statue as big as life having upon it the following inscription in great Roman capitals:—

HIC JACET VIR HONORABILIS DOMINUS PATRICIUS MACLOLANUS
DOMINUS DE WIGTON ET VICE-COMES GALLAVIDIÆ QUI OBIIT
ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUADRAGESIMO QUINQUAGESIMO
SECUNDO CUIUS ANIMA REQUIESCAT IN PACE. MCCLELLAN.

Sir Patrick Maclellan—generally known as the Tutor of Bombie—was, because of his loyalty to the King and opposition to the Douglasses, said to have been seized in the Castle of Rae-berry, and carried off to the Castle of Threave, where by command of William, Earl Douglas, he was in 1452 foully put to death. If ever there was in Dundrennan Abbey such an inscription, there is certainly no vestige of it now; and the pure chain

scription:—ELIZABETH . VANS . SOMETIME . LADY
BROVGHTOVN . QWHAV . DEPARTED . THIS
HIR . AGE 63. The stone is now very much worn.
Part of a shield can be traced in the upper part and
the letters EW on one side of it.

On the opposite side of the door in the north transept there is another niche, but with a pointed and not rounded arch. Cardonnel states that in this niche there was formerly a figure of the lady of Alan, Lord of Galloway, who is also said to have been buried at Dundrennan: but at the time of his visit (1788) there was no vestige of it remaining. The flat stone, level with the ground, that now occupies the niche has the following inscription round the border:—

mail of the monument before us indicates the time of Alan, and certainly not that of two centuries later.

It may be interesting to add here that four years after Sir Patrick Maclellan's death, when the power of the Douglasses had become intolerable, King James II. entered Galloway, reducing it to obedience and successfully attacking Threave Castle, the great Douglas stronghold. The abbot of Tongland received compensation for the destruction of his grain by the horses of the King when at that religious house at the time of the siege; and, after Threave was taken, the King left behind him fifteen persons ill at the monasteries of Tongland and Dundrennan, probably for treatment in the infirmaries. Another entry in the Exchequer Rolls shows how the King was keeping himself informed at this time of the movement of events in the district. A sum of five shillings is entered as having been paid to "a messenger for carrying letters from Dundrennan to Falkland to the Lord the King with news of the navies." (*Reg. Privy Council*; and *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi.)

HEIR · LYIS · MARGARET · LUNDIE · LATE · SPOUSE ·
 TO · MASTER · ROBERT · BOWIS · MINR · RERIK · WHO ·
 DEPARTED · SEPT · 21 · 1681 · ÆTAT · 45.

Robert Bowis was the second last Episcopal curate of the parish of Rerrick.

THE CHOIR.

Leaving the north transept we pass to the Choir, which, it will be observed, has no aisles. The space is largely occupied by graves. Apart from the abbey memorials, the oldest stone of the whole adjoining churchyard lies here. It is a plain stone, embedded in the ground and broken through the middle, lying about the centre of the choir, and very near the north wall. The inscription is beginning to be somewhat worn, but is still quite decipherable. It reads:—

HERE LYES EDWARD CULTANE SOMTIME MALTSTER IN
 GILL WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 19 DAY
 OF SEPTEMBER AND OF HIS AGE 60 AND THE YEIRE OF
 GOD 1667.

Erected against the south wall there stands another stone, dated 1775, with these lines upon it:—

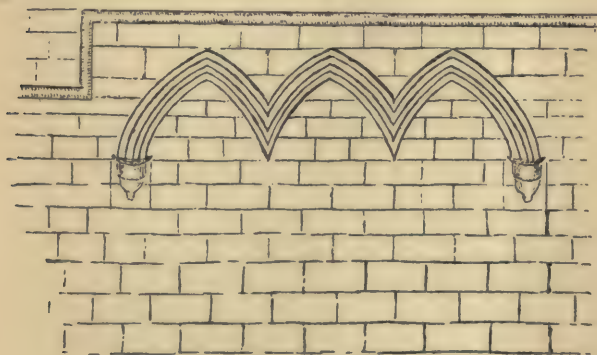
“Farewell, frail world, I’ve seen enough of thee,
 Nor do I care what thou canst say of me.
 Thy smiles I court not, nor thy frowns I dread,
 My heart is easy, and at rest my head.
 Grieve not for me, my wife nor children dear,
 For ’tis the will of God that I lie hear.”



THE NORTH TRANSEPT, DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

To the east of this stone, and lying on its side, there is another, dated 1800, erected to the memory of his parents by a son in New York, "In testimony that neither Time nor Foreign Clime could remove Filial Affection."

The choir appears to have had a vaulted roof. Nothing remains of the east wall. In the north and south walls there were three large Norman deeply-splayed clerestory windows. There are no windows in the lower parts of the walls. In the south wall near its east end there are the remains of a double-trefoil *piscina* or sink, and at its west end there are three pointed arches which covered the *sedilia* or seats reserved for the chief officiating priests. The



POSITION OF THE SEDILIA.

choir, needless to say, was the most sacred part of the whole building. Properly, it should be consid-

ered as extending into the nave to those piers already indicated against which the choir screen was erected. Along the north and south sides of the choir there would be a row of stalls for the accommodation of the monks. Here they would come for eight services each day, the first commencing so early as two o'clock in the morning. Two doors will be observed, one in the north and the other in the south wall of the choir. These are of recent construction, having been inserted at the time of Lord Selkirk's repairs. The make-up of that in the south wall is very apparent. It is arched by beautiful portions of arcading. It is worth while passing through the doorway to examine the ornamentation on the arcading on the farther side—the nail-head ornament being as distinct as the day the stone was chiselled.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

There is an east aisle in the South Transept corresponding to that in the north transept. Like the choir, it has been made use of for burial purposes in modern times. A stone at the north end of the aisle commemorates the wife of Lieut.-Colonel George Johnstone of Balcary, who died on her passage home from India in 1852. The sorely-stricken and desolate heart of the husband proclaims its irreparable loss thus:—"Heu quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse." (Ah, how little is

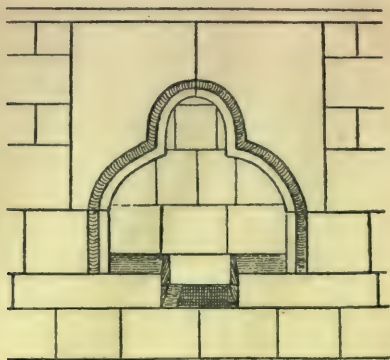
the companionship of those who remain compared with the memory of thee). These words are from an epitaph composed by William Shenstone, the poet (1714-1763). Shenstone was much given to writing elegies, and at his ancestral property of The Leasowes, Worcestershire, he was in the habit of erecting memorials of departed friends with some appropriate inscription placed thereon. On an urn commemorative of his cousin, Maria Dolman, a beautiful young woman whose life was cut short at the age of twenty-one during an epidemic of smallpox, he inscribed the following epitaph:—"Peramabili suæ consobrinæ M.D. Ah Maria puellarum elegantissima: ah flore venustatis abrepta, vale! Heu quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse!"

Standing next this stone is another that commemorates the death of a boy at the age of 13. We read on it the lines:—

"The silent dust, that sleeps beneath this sod,
Whispers to youth, prepair to meet thy God.
My sun went down ere life had reach^d its noon,
And what mine did, remember thine may soon.
Seek Christ, delay not least thy time be near,
And thou be laid my next companion here."

The east wall of the aisle has now for the most part disappeared, though in Grose's drawing it is shown still intact with three Norman windows. In the

south wall is to be seen a small tre-foil arched *piscina*. The triforium in the south transept, it will be observed, is different from that in the north transept. Over each arch of the main arcade there are only two



PISCINA IN SOUTH TRANSEPT.

pointed windows instead of the group of four in the north transept, and, in addition, these windows are open and not blind as in the other. Only a comparatively small portion of the south wall of the transept remains; in the centre of it is a doorway of modern construction. On the right of this doorway is seen a portion of stone jutting out from the wall. As this corner has evidently been a good deal patched up, one cannot affirm that the stone in question is in its original position. If it is, it is in all probability part of the support of the stair which ran

from this transept to a height of ten or twelve feet up to a doorway in the south wall. It was by this doorway and stair the monks gained access from their dormitory to the church when proceeding to their early service in the choir at 2 A.M. At all other services the monks entered the church from the cloister by the door, already indicated, at the eastern end of the nave. Before leaving this corner, notice may be taken of part of the matrix of a brass memorial.

THE SACRISTY.

Passing through the doorway in the south wall we enter what was formerly a vaulted chamber. Much doubt exists as to the exact purpose it served. Some have thought that it was a mortuary chamber, or the treasury or a penitential cell. Others again consider it to have been the Sacristy, and this view is probably the correct one. The sacrist was the official who had charge of the fabric of the church, the care of the altars and their furnishings, the safe-keeping of vessels and vestments, and to him was committed the duty of attending to the lighting of the building.

THE CLOISTERS.

Leaving by the doorway on the west (which Grose depicts with an arch of trefoil shape) we enter the Cloister-court, which is very nearly square. This was the busy centre of the daily conventual life. It

may be remarked that the cloister, with the various buildings surrounding it, usually occupied the southern position assigned to it at Dundrennan. In our cold northern climate we are glad to get as much sunshine and heat as possible, and these ends were kept in view in the choice of a southern exposure for the cloister. But there are exceptions to this rule, as, for example, Melrose, where the cloister and conventual buildings were all on the north side of the church. But such departures from the common rule were determined by the particular circumstances of each monastery. There were, of course, four walks running along the sides of the cloister, each 10 or 12 feet wide. Each walk was covered by a pentice or lean-to roof, and was separated from the court by an arcade, possibly wooden. The northern cloister was a busy centre of the conventual life. Along the wall there were seats fixed, which were occupied by the monks in the intervals between their services in the choir, and when not employed in any other duty. Here they sat, giving themselves to study or employing themselves in any acts of obedience enjoined them. There can be seen in the wall a number of corbels which might indicate the position of the seats. These corbels, however, were found among the rubbish when Government took over the buildings, and they were appropriately placed in this wall when it was rebuilt. The cloister-garth in the centre,

it should be stated, was used as the burial-place of the monks.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

Turning now to the building south of what may have been the sacristy we find ourselves facing the Chapter-house. This is generally recognised as the most beautiful portion of the existing ruins. The



ENTRANCE TO CHAPTER-HOUSE.

style of architecture is later than anything yet seen. It is well advanced in the First Pointed period, and is assigned to the close of the thirteenth century.⁶

⁶ MacGibbon and Ross, *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

The doorway especially is of elaborate workmanship: the five-lobed cusping shows considerable decoration, though now somewhat weather-worn. The windows on each side of the doorway appear to have been restored and perhaps even reduced from the original size. They are each of two lights (pointed), the central round shaft, however, which divided the window, having in both cases disappeared. There is much nail-head decoration to be observed on these windows. It would almost seem as if the present chapter-house had been preceded by one of earlier date. Right along the front there is exposed what looks like the foundation of an earlier building. In front of the north window there lies an inscribed slab, which is generally known as the Prior's Stone. It is the monument of Prior Blakomor, who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is described more fully in the following chapter. (Monument No. 10).

Passing through the doorway, we descend into the interior of the chapter-house by three steps. The north wall stands to a height of four feet or so, two-thirds of the east wall to the same height, and little more than the foundations of the south wall remain. The building had a vaulted roof, as can be seen from the indications on the west wall, and the roof was supported in the middle by six piers in two rows of three. As already stated, the tower of the Old

Courthouse of Kirkcudbright was built of stones taken from Dundrennan Abbey, and the top-stone of the spire on which the vane rests is the capital of one of these piers of the chapter-house. Recently a good deal of soil has been removed from the chapter-house: the original floor-level has been once again reached, and the stone benching round the sides has been repaired.

The chapter-house was that part of the monastic buildings where the affairs of the monastery were supervised, and where its discipline was enforced. Daily chapter was held, the monks gathering here about nine o'clock after morning mass. They took their seats on the stone benches, which ran along the north and south walls, and awaited the coming of the abbot, who, on his arrival, proceeded up the middle of the chapter-house to his seat in the centre of the east wall. The chapter was now begun. The building, it may be here noted, derives its name from the fact that at this meeting there was read daily a chapter of the Rule of the monastery. Anniversaries of the saints were announced: the blessing of God was invoked upon the special duties of the day: such work as the monks performed in turn would now be assigned to each: intimations were received of the death of any members of the neighbouring religious houses, and prayers for the repose of their souls were ordered. Any action to be taken in the

name of the community, such as the giving of charters, was now sanctioned. A main purpose for which chapter was held was the exercise of discipline. Any monk who had been guilty, even inadvertently, of any infraction of the rule of the Order might be informed against, and punishment more or less severe would be apportioned him by the superior. The chapter-house was used in addition as a burial-place for the abbots. Their graves were indicated by sepulchral slabs placed on a level with the floor. In the summer of 1912 discovery was made of five such grave-slabs, besides numerous fragments of other abbots' memorials. These are all fully described in the succeeding chapter. (See Monuments, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6). Before leaving the chapter-house attention may be drawn to the shattered fragments of a stone which must at one time have been adorned with a magnificent brass, upon which two figures, of a knight and of his lady, were portrayed. The memorial has been assigned to the close of the thirteenth century. (See next chapter, Monument No. 12).

THE SCRIPTORIUM.

Over the vaulted roof of the chapter-house was the Scriptorium. A small portion of wall containing part of a window is all that is left of it. The ledge upon which the floor rested is plainly visible. As its name indicates, the Scriptorium was used by the

monks for copying psalters and missals, and engaging in any other form of literary labour. Though chiefly devoting themselves to agricultural pursuits, the Cistercians were not without those who gave themselves to intellectual study, and as many as seven hundred and seventy-three authors have been named who belonged to the Order.

THE LOCUTORIUM AND THE SLYPE.

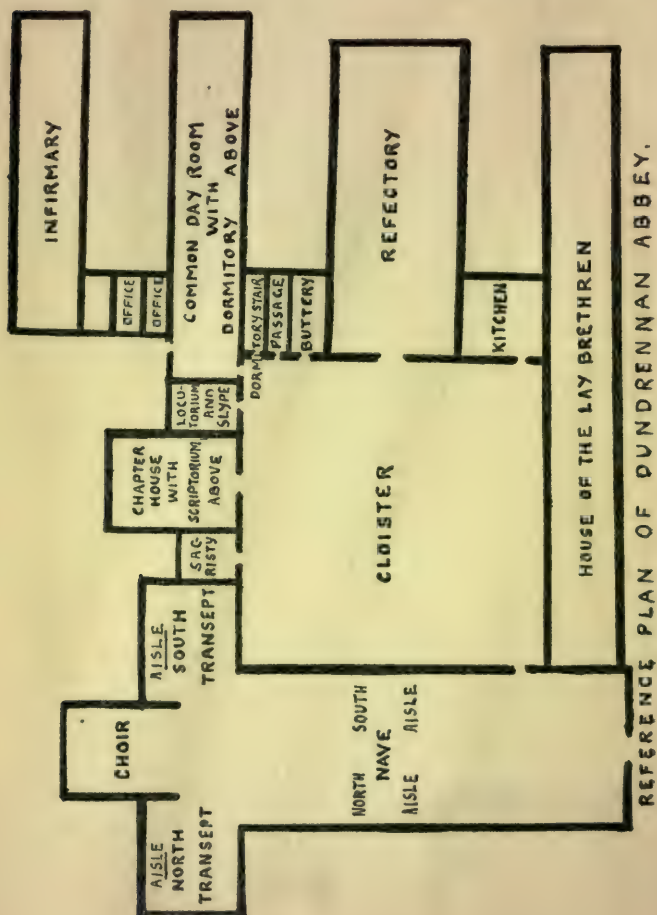
Passing to the next opening on the south of the chapter-house, we come to the Locutorium. Silence was strictly enforced in Cistercian houses, and this apartment served the purpose of a parlour where any necessary converse might take place. Probably also it was used as the Slype, a narrow passage which led from the cloisters to the buildings farther east.

THE INFIRMARY.

One of the most important of these buildings was the Infirmary. (The plan should be carefully consulted in regard to the remaining buildings).⁷ The

⁷ In the Hutton Collection of Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library there is preserved a rough plan (made in 1816 and drawn with the assistance of Mr Armstrong, who superintended the erection of the jail in Kirkcudbright) of the infirmary, the common day-room and the intervening apartments, as they still existed at that date. The infirmary measures about 100 feet in length, and about 25 feet in breadth. The common day-room ran as far south as the infirmary. These buildings, or what remained of them, were removed in 1843 to allow of the erection of new office-houses for Rerrick Manse which were to occupy their site. On the corner of the Manse coach-house is to be seen a stone having three shields carved upon it.

Infirmiry was the most easterly of four long buildings running north and south. Down either side of



REFERENCE PLAN OF DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

the long hall would be ranged the beds, and in the centre there was ample space for partaking of meals. The younger monks assisted the infirmarian in ministering to the sick and to the aged, who, when too feeble to undergo the regular discipline of the monastery, were accommodated here. Here also were accommodated the monks during their period of convalescence after having undergone the operation of blood-letting, an operation which was deemed beneficial to their health, and to which from time to time they had to submit themselves.

LATRINES.

Three apartments, probably Latrines, lay to the west of the infirmary. Portions of these remain, with small windows in two of them.

THE COMMON DAY-ROOM.

Standing at the west of these apartments there is a solitary octagonal column. This was one, the first, of a row of columns that stretched southward. The columns were the central row of piers which supported the vaulted roof over the Common Day-Room. Much dubiety exists as to what exact use the Day-Room was put to. Some have held that it was the monastery workshop, where many forms of manual labour were engaged in. Others have maintained that it was a room made use of by the novices; while others again are of the belief that it was a room

where the monks at times were at liberty to come, it being the only place where it was possible for them to warm themselves at a fire. Perhaps the dubiety that exists points to the fact that it may have been used for all these purposes. As bearing out the last suggestion at any rate, it is of interest to note that during the operations conducted by the Earl of Selkirk in 1838 there was discovered "near the plain octagon column . . . a fire-place or oven's place, with a hearth stone, on which most evidently many a fire had made its appearance." Abbot Gasquet⁸ inclines to this use of the room. He quotes the *Rites of Durham*, in which it is said: "On the right hand, as you go out of the cloisters into the infirmary, was the Common House, and a master thereof. This house was intended to have this end to have a fire kept in it all the winter, for the monks to come and warm them at, being allowed no fire but that only, except the masters and officers of the house, who had their several fires."

THE MONKS' DORMITORY.

Immediately over the common day-room was the Monks' Dormitory. It was usually situated in a position where easy access could be had to the church. It will be remembered that the first service in the

⁸ *English Monastic Life*, p. 34.

choir began at 2 a.m., and to take part in that early service the monks, instead of coming out into the cold cloisters and proceeding to the church by the doorway in the north-east corner, were permitted to pass over the locutorium, through the scriptorium, over the sacristy, and enter the church by the door and flight of steps in the south transept to which reference has been made. After this early service the monks returned, as they came, to the dormitory for rest. Originally dormitories were open from end to end: latterly little cells or cubicles were apportioned each monk.

THE DORMITORY STAIR.

Turning now to the south cloister walk we see, first of all, two short broken walls, which may have given some support to the stair which led up to the entrance of the dormitory. Generally the space beneath the stair served as a cupboard.

PASSAGE.

In some monasteries the calefactory, or room where the monks warmed themselves, was west of the dormitory stair. At Dundrennan they seem to have warmed themselves in the day-room. At any rate, the mouldings of the next entrance west of the dormitory stair suggest an open archway and not a doorway. Probably this was a passage leading to the convent garden.

THE BUTTERY.

There can be no doubt that the next chamber had a door affixed to its entrance. The holes for bolts are so numerous that one might be excused for thinking this the strong-room of the monastery. In point of fact, it was the Buttery. It adjoined the refectory, or dining-hall, with which it had direct communication by means of a common doorway. In this apartment the refectorer kept his dishes and other utensils necessary to the feeding of the community.

THE REFECTORY.

Moving westward, we have the misfortune to lose the indications of the apartments that occupied the remaining portion of the site on the south of the cloister. But, happily, we are in no doubt as to what they were, for recent excavations, undertaken in the Manse garden on the farther side of the boundary wall that faces us, have been successful in revealing the foundations of the buildings and determining their plan and extent. First came the Refectory, or Dining Hall, one of the chief buildings of a monastery. The refectory of Dundrennan was a noble apartment whose inside measurement was 88 feet long by 34 feet wide.⁹ From the spot where we

⁹ The foundations of the walls, 5 feet thick, have been clearly defined. On its east side below its junction with the buttery (which was ascertained to be 25 feet in length, inside measurement), the wall was strengthened with four buttresses,

stand the width of the refectory may be judged as extending from the buttery to the commencement of the large broken wall to the west of us. The entrance to the refectory was in the centre, between the second and third buttresses, and there is just sufficient of the entrance remaining to show that access to the hall was had by ascending one or two steps. The lavatory, in which the monks always washed their hands before proceeding to dinner, generally stood right in front of the refectory on the other side of the cloister walk, encroaching upon the cloister garth.

The prior generally presided, though on special occasions the abbot would preside at dinner, which was partaken of some time between 11 a.m. and 12 noon. During the ringing of the bell which announced the meal the prior took up his position at the entrance to the refectory, and the monks, having duly washed and dried their hands, passed in before him to their respective places. Any guests for the

the foundations of which are 5 feet wide and 13 inches broad, with the exception of the terminal buttress which is 2 feet broad. At its south end there were also four buttresses. On its west side, at its southern end, there were only two buttresses, but at a distance of 25 feet north of the south wall this east wall increased in width by other 2 feet 4 inches, and this total width of wall of 7 feet 4 inches continued for 28 feet. Undoubtedly, within the width of this wall would be contained the flight of steps which led up to the pulpit with which every refectory was provided. The wall narrowed again to its normal width of 5 feet, and continued unchanged to the cloister.

time being in the monastery would also have places assigned them. The tables stretched lengthwise, the monks sitting with their backs to the walls. The chief officials occupied the seats farthest up the room, the ordinary monks sat next in the same order as that in which they sat in choir, and the novices were nearest the door. All having entered, the prior gave the signal for the summoning bell to cease being rung, and then he himself entered. The brethren stood to receive him and returned the bow he gave them as he passed up to his table at the south end of the hall. Dinner was a very silent meal. Indeed, that the minds of the brethren might be suitably occupied, one of them was appointed to read all the time of dinner out of the Holy Scriptures or other edifying book; and for the better performance of this duty a little pulpit was inserted in the middle of the west wall. In about half an hour the meal, which was a very simple one, was over. It concluded with the chanting of a grace, sung by the monks as they filed out and went in procession to the church, where the chant was finished.

THE KITCHEN.

Behind the considerable portion of wall to the west of the refectory was the Kitchen, which naturally had to be in close proximity to the dining-hall. The kitchen, it may be remarked, was, as here, usually situated in a position as far removed as possible from

the church, so that neither the operations of the cooks nor the odour of the kitchen might in any way interfere with the conduct of service in the choir. At the north end of the wall common to both refectory and kitchen there was a hatch through which the dinner was passed. The doorway into the kitchen from the cloister possesses this peculiarity, that the arch is pointed on the north side but rounded on the south side. The holes in the wall above the doorway probably indicate where the beams rested that supported the roof over the south cloister walk. ¹⁰

STORAGE VAULTS.

Turning now into the west cloister we find ourselves confronted with six barrel-shaped Vaults. These vaulted chambers were evidently used for storage purposes, with the exception of the second nearest the south, which seems instead to have been the passage by which the monks gained access to the cloisters from the outside without the necessity of having to pass through the church.

This long building, of which these vaults form the lower part, extended farther south a distance of 88 feet, the same length as the refectory. The continua-

¹⁰ The foundation of the south wall of the kitchen is much broken by a modern drain that has been driven through it. In fact, little of the wall remains, but enough to show that it was in line with the southern wall of the buttery. The width of the kitchen was about 29 feet.

tion of this building, however, was not divided into vaults, but formed one large chamber, which probably served the purpose of a refectory for such of the lay brethren as were occupied at work in or about the monastery. The doorway by which access was had to this chamber from the cloister is to be seen in the southernmost vault. In the same vault there was found during recent operations some twelve feet of old jointed lead piping, the medium by which a water supply was introduced into the cloister. ¹¹

THE DORMITORY OF THE LAY BRETHREN.

The upper storey over these vaults and what has been described as the lay brethren's refectory was the Dormitory of the Lay Brethren. The dormitory

¹¹ Excavation of the foundations has revealed the fact that at some time or other in the monastery's history some change was introduced in the construction of the southern part of the building. It appears to have been curtailed, for at a distance of 20 feet from its southern end a wall 5 feet thick has been run across the breadth of the building, and is carried up inside the east wall with a thickness of 18 inches. The junction of the two walls on the east is plainly visible; not only is the line of division clearly manifest, but the original east wall, which is of the usual 5 feet thickness, consists of freestone, while the 18-inch additional wall is of whinstone. The curtailment of the building left at the southern end a chamber about 21 feet 6 inches by 20 feet. Some other stone work projects southward, but too little and too broken to signify much. It may be added that the old Manse of Rerrick occupied the site of the centre of this long building: its foundations likewise remain, breaking in upon the monastery foundations, and tending to cause some confusion.

has division-walls in it, some of which give evidence of having been erected at a date subsequent to that of the original building. The division-wall at the north end of the dormitory reveals the existence of a fire-place; and, as fires were luxuries not permitted to the ordinary inmates of the monastery, this northernmost apartment may have served the purpose of a guest-chamber. All monasteries were provided with guest-chambers, for the exercise of hospitality was regarded by the monks as a primary virtue. Guests, however, were expected not to prolong their stay much beyond three days. It is interesting to remark that when in 1913 this apartment was cleared of accumulated débris, there was found adhering to the wall a portion of the original plaster with which the walls were covered. The walls of the Church, it may here be stated, were covered with a thin coating of hard lime, which, owing to the action of weather and successive repairs, has almost entirely disappeared—the western wall of the north transept being, perhaps, the only place where any indication of it may be seen.

The whole building, upper and lower storeys, bears various names, from the different uses to which it was put, being called the Cellarium, and, more commonly, the Domus Conversorum, the House of the Conversi or Lay Brethren. Its total length was 200 feet.

Grose (1789) is responsible for the statement that

"towards the south end of the western side of these buildings was a small projecting erection in shape of a cross, exactly similar to the church, but inverted, those parts which fronted the east in one facing the west in the other." It is not very clear what is the exact position here indicated. If it is "the south end of the western side" in its present length, then the building was probably the House of the Master of the Lay Brethren, which (when there was one) abutted upon their house at this point. A small broken wall over the southernmost vault, with what appears to be the remains of a doorway or of a passage in it, may favour the idea that this is the position referred to by Grose.

RETURN TO THE NAVE.

We have now described and explained the uses of such parts of the monastery as still exist, or to which we have found reference. Other buildings there would be, but, as we cannot locate them, no explanation is called for. We pass along the western cloister, therefore, and re-enter the nave of the church by a doorway at its western end. Arrived inside the nave, we see that part of the wall at the end of the lay brethren's dormitory is built up. There was formerly a flight of steps here by which there was direct communication between the dormitory and the church. The lay brethren, it may be added, occupied the nave when at service.

DIMENSIONS OF THE BUILDINGS.

The measurements are all inside measurements.

Extreme length of church (approximately), 208 feet.

Length of nave, 130 feet.

Extreme width of nave, including aisles, 62 feet 6 inches—

Nave, 31 feet 6 inches.

Aisles, 15 feet 6 inches each.

Length of choir (approximately), 47 feet 6 inches.

Width of choir, 26 feet 3 inches.

Extreme length of transepts from north to south (over the crossing), 108 feet.

Extreme width of transept, including east aisle, 43 feet 9 inches—

Width of transept, 28 feet 6 inches.

Width of aisle, 15 feet 3 inches.

Length of aisle, 38 feet 6 inches.

Length of sacristy, 23 feet 6 inches.

Width of sacristy, 11 feet 9 inches.

Length of chapter-house (above the benching),
51 feet.

Width of chapter-house (above the benching),
34 feet 6 inches.

Length of locutorium, 26 feet.

Width of locutorium, 13 feet 3 inches.

Length of infirmary (approximately), 100 feet.

Width of infirmary (approximately), 25 feet.

Length of common day-room (approximately),
120 feet.

Width of common day-room, 26 feet.

Length of passage, 25 feet.

Width of passage, 8 feet.

Length of buttery, 25 feet.

Width of buttery, 16 feet.

Length of refectory, 88 feet.

Width of refectory, 34 feet.

Length of kitchen, 25 feet.

Width of kitchen, 29 feet.

Extreme length of the house of the lay brethren,
200 feet.

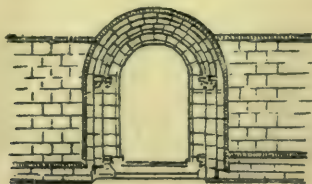
Width of the house of the lay brethren, 22 feet
6 inches.

Cloister, North and West walks, 103 feet 8
inches.

South walk, 102 feet 10 inches.

East walk, 105 feet 8 inches.

The main walls of the buildings are 5 feet thick.



DOORWAY IN NORTH TRANSEPT.

CHAPTER VI.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY is richer than many monasteries in Memorials. Attention has already been directed to a number of these in the course of our investigation of the ruins. It has been thought well, however, to reserve the fuller description of them, as of some others, till now. As already stated, five grave-slabs of abbots and fragments of other grave-slabs were discovered in 1912 in the chapter-house. We shall describe these first.

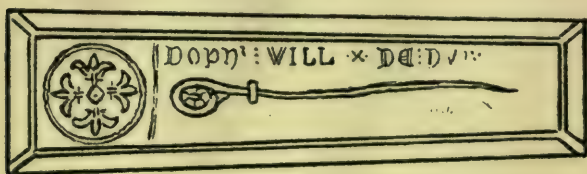
1. GRAVE-SLAB OF ABBOT WILLIAM.

The oldest of the stones which lie in the chapter-house (and indeed the oldest of any in the whole abbey) is that which commemorates Abbot William. In length it is 6 feet, in breadth 20 inches at the top, tapering to 17 inches at the bottom, and in thickness it is 6 inches. The inscription on it, in rude Lombardic characters, is now, especially the end of it, somewhat faint. The first word, which occurs several times in the inscriptions, is of course a contrac-

tion for DOMPNUS, commonly used in ecclesiastical Latin of the mediæval period for the more classical DOMINUS. The sign at the end of the word (the contraction for US) appears in varied form, but a good-sized apostrophe (') may be taken as a near approach. The inscription on Abbot William's stone is as follows:—

DOPN ' : WILL ·x· DE : DVN

Below the inscription and occupying the centre of the stone is a rudely-executed abbot's staff. The head



of the stone is adorned with a small floriated cross of *fleur-de-lis* pattern, enclosed within a very roughly-drawn circle. There were at least two abbots of Dundrennan who bore the name of William, the second of whom lived in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. But by that time the use of Lombardic lettering was discontinued in inscriptions, and memorials generally were much more elaborate and ornamental than this. There can be little doubt that the stone before us is the grave-slab of the earlier William, the second abbot of Dundrennan,

whose name appears as that of a witness to a confirmation by Uchtred (1161-1175) of his father's grant of the church of Dunrod to Holyrood, and who was present at Haddington in 1180, assisting the King in the settlement of a great dispute between the monastery of Melrose and Richard de Morville regarding possession of the forest between the Gala Water and the Leader. The simplicity of the memorial and the crudeness of its execution—the inscription and ornamentation are hardly more than scratched upon the surface—point to an early date, and are in perfect keeping with that simplicity which characterised Cistercianism in the days of its pristine fervour. As Sylvanus, the first abbot, left Dundrennan to assume the abbacy of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, William would be the first abbot to be buried in the chapter-house.

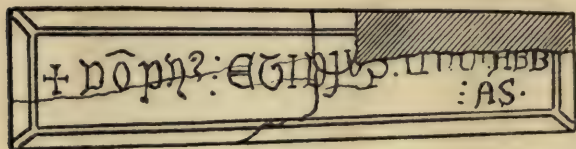
2. GRAVE-SLAB OF ABBOT EGIDIUS.

The stone lying next to William's is the grave-slab of Abbot Egidius (Giles). Unfortunately, it is broken and part of it is wanting. The stone has bevelled edges, as has also that of Abbot William. It is 5 feet 10 inches in length, about 18 inches in breadth, tapering a little at the bottom, and about 6 inches in thickness. The inscription in Lombardic characters, preceded by a Maltese Cross, runs:—

✠ DÖPN ': EGIDIVS : ABBAS

The letters after the abbot's name only partially re-

main, and much dubiety exists as to the correct read-



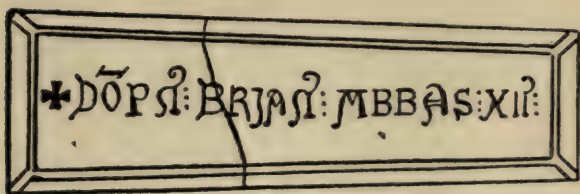
ing. Beyond this stone, no record whatever has as yet been found of this abbot. But the simplicity of its inscription and the crudeness of the Lombardic lettering incline us to the belief that it commemorates one of the earlier abbots. The beginning of the thirteenth century may be given as its approximate date.

3. GRAVE-SLAB OF ABBOT BRIAN.

The third stone in the chapter-house in the order of date—that lying farthest east—is that of Abbot Brian. Like the other two, its edges are bevelled. It is 6 feet long, 23 inches broad at top and 19 at bottom, and has a thickness of about 6 inches. It is cracked through the middle. The inscription, once again in the Lombardic character, is deeply incised, very clear and quaint. Preceded by a Maltese Cross, it runs :—

✠ DŌPN ' : BRIAN ' : ABBAS : XII' :

Brian's name appears as that of a witness to a charter of certain lands in Kirkpatrick-Durham granted by



Devorgilla in her widowhood "to God and the Church of St Mary of Sweetheart and the monks there of the Cistercian Order of the Convent of Dundrennan for the abbey to be built in honour of God and St Mary the Virgin." Sweetheart Abbey was the last of the Cistercian foundations in Scotland, and the above charter is dated 1273. Brian therefore ruled in Dundrennan before the period of decline had set in, and when the institution was sufficiently vigorous to colonise another monastery.

4. GRAVE-SLAB OF ABBOT EGIDIUS.

The fourth stone in the chapter-house is the grave-slab of another Egidius (Giles). Its edges are not bevelled and it does not taper towards the bottom as the other stones do. In length it is 6 feet 2 inches, in breadth 23 inches, and in thickness 6 inches. The greater amount of ornamentation on the stone shows that Cistercianism was leaving behind it the severer simplicity of earlier years. The ornamentation is of raised work. The full length of the stone is

adorned in the centre with a floriated cross, four flowers (roses) of eight petals each radiating from the intersection of the cross, and enclosed within the circle which surrounds the head of it. The cross stands upon a base or calvary. On the one side of



the shaft is a beautiful pastoral staff adorned with four eight-petalled roses, three of which are attached to the staff. On the other side of the shaft are three roses, and four representations of the *fleur-de-lis*. Along the sinister and dexter sides there runs, still in the Lombardic character, an incised inscription, preceded by the usual Maltese Cross:—

✠ HIC : IACET : DŌPN' : EGIDIVS
XX·II· : ABBS DE D : Q^I : OBIIT ·I· OFFICŌ

The last word is very difficult to decipher. As the engraver was proceeding with the inscription, he found himself left with a very limited space for its completion, with the result that he not only contracted the last word but ran the letters into one

another. One would naturally expect a date, but it is difficult to read a date in the last word. "Officio" or "officino" (workshop) has been suggested as the correct reading. Abbot Egidius was superior of the monastery in the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1351 the Pope confirmed "an appropriation of the Church of St Calmanellus, Botylle, in the diocese of Whiteherne, to the abbot and convent of Sweetheart." The letters of Simon, bishop of Whiteherne, apportioning the teinds between the monks and the vicar of the parish, are dated at the Church of Botylle, Thursday, the feast of St Luke, 1347, and are witnessed by "Giles, Abbot of Dundrinane." There can be little doubt that this is the abbot whose beautiful memorial in such a good state of preservation has survived till the present time.

5. GRAVE-SLAB OF ABBOT (UNKNOWN).

Another stone lies in the chapter-house, some eight feet right before the doorway. It is 6 feet 3 inches long, 19 inches at top and 15 inches at bottom, and 6 inches thick. Curiously, it has upon it neither lettering nor ornamentation of any kind, and it is impossible therefore to assign it any date.

6. FRAGMENTS OF ABBOTS' GRAVE-SLABS.

In addition to the above memorials there were recovered during the operations conducted in the

chapter-house in 1912 several fragments of stones, with lettering upon them, but too little to determine the abbots commemorated. On one of these fragments there can be made out in the Lombardic character the letters

ERUS : IA

which may be part of the words "Gaulterus jacet." Abbot Walter is believed to have been the abbot who was present at a great parliament met at Brigham, 14th March, 1290, which confirmed the Treaty of Salisbury by which Edward I. sought to accomplish the betrothal of his son, Prince Edward, to Margaret, the girl-queen of Scotland. Walter's name also appears on the Ragman Roll as swearing fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, 28th August, 1296. The remaining fragments have Old English lettering on them, and are parts of probably fifteenth and sixteenth century memorials. Some of these have been highly-ornamented stones, but the clear-cut letters upon them are too few to permit of the identification of the abbots commemorated. One fragment is part of a stone that has had carved upon it a full-sized figure of an abbot, for the folds of his robe and the point of the abbot's staff are plainly discernible. The one mutilated word on this fragment is "Dundraynan." On another stone can be read "ayna," part of the same word.



THE ABBOT'S MONUMENT, DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

7. THE "ABBOT'S MONUMENT."

A most interesting monument discovered in the chapter-house in 1838, and removed for better preservation in 1888 to the closed-up doorway in the west of the nave, is that which is known as the Abbot's Monument. It stands erect, 6 feet 9 inches in height, 1 foot 9 inches broad at the top and 16 inches at the bottom, and 6 inches thick. The sculpture is in bas-relief. The face of the abbot is unfortunately a little disfigured. He is dressed in cowl and hood. The right arm is raised and laid against the left breast, the open palm of the hand pressing against a dagger, the upper part of which can be seen, but the lower loses itself in the folds of the dress under the hand. The left arm is extended and gently inclined inwards, and the hand clasps the pastoral staff which is held in a slanting position, the top of it (which is turned inwards) being on the sinister side on a level with the abbot's head, while the point of the staff is on the dexter, and pierces the head of a diminutive human figure upon which the abbot stands. This figure is in a lying posture, with face towards us, and the left arm clasps the right foot of the abbot which, with the other foot also, is placed on the body. The upper part of the body is naked, and from the side a portion of the entrails is seen to protrude. A short kilt covers the under part of the body, and the bare legs are carried

round the thickness of the stone. There are shoes on the feet. The only ornamentation or emblem on the monument is that of an excised rose in the top dexter corner on a level with the head of the abbot's staff in the opposite corner. The posture of the abbot, standing on the little kilted figure, may symbolise the triumph, perhaps the ultimate triumph, of Christianity over the native paganism of the district, and the half-concealed dagger may suggest that this abbot himself, in contributing to that triumph, met a martyr's death. The piercing of the head of the little human figure by the abbot's staff and the grasping of the abbot's foot by the little figure may convey something of the same idea, such symbolism being reminiscent of the first Messianic promise in Genesis iii. 15, "It (the seed of the woman) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The monument has no date nor writing of any kind upon it.

8. THE CELLARER'S MONUMENT.

Placed beside the Abbot's Monument (and discovered in the chapter-house at the same time) is the Cellarer's Monument—a slab fractured, but nearly complete, 5 feet 6 inches in length and 2 feet 9 inches in breadth. The carving is in low relief, and represents a tonsured monk with his arms raised and with the open palms of his hands crossed and

lying upon his breast. At his feet are two creatures of reptile form with tails crossed and with heads upturned, out of the mouth of one of which there rises erect on the sinister side of the stone a rod with oak leaves, and out of the mouth of the other a rod with, perhaps, palm leaves. There are various other emblems on the stone, the exact meaning of which



it is somewhat difficult to determine, with the exception of a large chalice, one of the recognised symbols of the priestly office. The fragment so long awanting in the upper dexter corner was fortunately discovered during operations in the chapter-house in 1908, and its recovery enables us to complete the inscription. The inscription, in raised letters of Old English character, is very beautifully executed and runs round the entire border. It is preceded by a hand with outstretched forefinger, and at the other three corners, interjected between the words of the inscription, there are a bunch of leaves, a rose and a falling bird respectively. It reads as follows:—

 HIC · IACET · DŌPN' · PA OGLAS ·
 QUONDĀ · CELLERARI' · DE · DUN-
 DRAYNĀ · QUI · OLBIIT · ANNO · DÑI ·
 MCCCCLXXX · ORATE · P · AĪA · EI'

Translated, it is—"Here lies Master Patrick Douglas, formerly cellarer of Dundrennan, who died A.D. 1480. Pray for his soul."

9. MONUMENT OF A LADY.

A little to the left of the stone just described, set up against the wall and erected on the base of the wall pier, is a monument which has been styled the Nun's Monument. There is reason, however, to doubt whether it was intended to commemorate a nun. If

she had been some official in a nunnery, her title or office would almost certainly have been inscribed on the slab, whereas in the inscription she is simply described as "Domina Orcheæ." That the dress she wears is not necessarily that of a nun is proved by the fact that Devorgilla, in her widowhood, is represented in similar fashion on her seal attached to the Statutes of Balliol College. The monument for-



merly stood in the south transept, and its broken fragments were then arranged in a slightly different way from that in which they are now placed. Moreover, a small fragment, with letters U SI upon it, once known to exist, has since disappeared. The broken slab, 5 feet 3 inches in length and 2 feet 10 inches in breadth, is adorned with the figure of a woman dressed in wimple and widow's weeds. Her arms are raised and her open hands are crossed upon her breast. She stands with her feet placed on two dogs, sitting tail to tail. There is no ornamentation other than quatrefoils in the corners. The inscription is defective. So far as it remains it is:—

HIC IACET
ORCHE

UONDAM DOMINA
BIIT ĀNO D· MCCCCXL

Making use of the portion of the monument which has disappeared since Hutchison made his drawing of the stone in 1857, we have had the following inscription suggested¹:—"Hic jacet in Jesu Sibylla quondam domina Orcheæ quæ obiit āno D· MCCCCXL." Translated, it is—"Here rests in Jesus, Sibyl, formerly lady of Orchea (? Orchardton), who died A.D. 1440." There is a good deal of conjecture about this, but it is as satisfactory as can be offered in present circumstances.

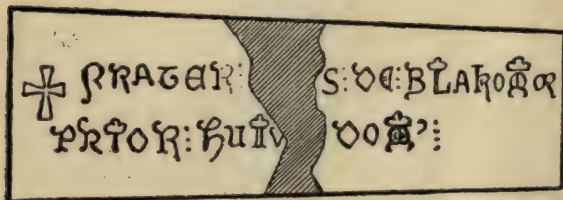
¹ So McConachie.

10. PRIOR BLAKOMOR'S STONE.

Prior Blakomor's Stone lies below the north window in the west front of the chapter-house. The slab is of freestone, like almost all the other memorials. A scaling has come away from the middle of it. It measures 5 feet 9 inches in length, 2 feet in breadth at the top, tapering to 19 inches at the bottom, with a thickness of 5 inches. Its inscription is in quaint Lombardic characters, and, preceded by a Maltese Cross, runs:—

✠ FRATER : S : DE : BLAKOMOR
PRIOR : HUIV DOM' :

(Brother . . . s de Blakomor, Prior of this House).



In the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland^a we find that on 1st September, 1305, John, abbot of Dundrennan, appointed "friar John de Blakhoumore and another attorneys in Ireland for three

^a Vol. ii. p. 464.

years." There can be little doubt that this is the man commemorated by this stone.

11. MONUMENT OF ALAN, LORD OF GALLOWAY.

This monument which occupies a niche in the north transept has been already fully described and illustrated in the preceding chapter (pages 108-110). The niche measures 7 feet 4 inches in length, and would be fully occupied, but the figure is now dismembered and the legs below the knees are wanting.

12. REMAINS OF MEMORIAL BRASSES.

In the north-west corner of the chapter-house there lies a large stone in a fractured condition, which measured in its unbroken state 9 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. It is the matrix of a memorial brass, which in its day must have been a magnificent memorial of a knight and his lady. The date of the memorial can be approximately determined from the military costume worn by the knight. Ailettes—the protecting plates that stood up from the shoulders and that were attached to the chain-mail hauberk—were in fashion for a very brief period at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. What knight of that period can he be who is commemorated here? Whoever he may have been, there can be no doubt, both

from the size of the memorial and from the indications of its magnificence, that he was a man of very high station, some one whose name and fame are familiar in the history of the province of Galloway. What mighty dead they are who lie within these walls, and what imposing ceremony must have attended their obsequies !

In the south transept the remains of another matrix of a memorial brass are to be seen. There is nothing by which its date can be determined. The portion of the stone remaining measures 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet.

13. MEMORIAL OF SIR WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE.

Recovered from the chapter-house in 1838 at the same time as the Abbot's Monument and the Cellarer's Stone, the memorial of Sir William Livingstone stands in a position beside these. Though fractured, it is almost complete. Its length is 6 feet 3 inches, and its breadth 3 feet. Its date is post-Reformation. Besides the inscription, which is in raised Roman lettering, the stone is adorned only with the coats of arms of the Livingstone and the Baillie families. Only a portion of the latter coat of arms remains. The inscription runs first round the border and then, in consecutive lines, occupies the centre of the stone. The coats of arms are on the dexter in the lower part of the stone.

Reading consecutively, and filling up the missing letters, we have this inscription : —

HEIR · LYIS · ANE · RICHT · HONORABLE ·
 [M]AN · SIR · WILL[IAM · LI]WINGSTOVN ·
 OF · CVLTER · KNIGHT · BROTHE[R] · TO ·
 THE · NOBLE · EARLE · ALE[X] · EARLE ·
 OF · LINLITHGOV · QVHA · DIED · 2 M[A]Y ·
 ANNO · [I]607 · CHRIST · ALON[E · IS] · LYF · AND ·
 DEATH · IS · [MY] · GAINÉ.

Above and on the dexter and sinister sides of the Livingstone shield are the letters S V L. The Baillie shield is said to have been similarly adorned with the letters M B. The Livingstone arms are, Quarterly, 1st and 4th Argent, three stars Gules, 2nd and 3rd Sable, a bend betwixt six billets Or. The Baillie arms are, Azure, nine stars Argent.

Sir William Livingstone of Culter, here commemorated, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir William Baillie of Lamington. She was the widow of Edward Maxwell, the commendator of Dundrennan. Sir William's father, the sixth Lord Livingstone, though a Protestant, was an ardent supporter of Queen Mary. He negotiated at Edinburgh with the Earl of Moray for her release, and on the sensational escape of Mary from Lochleven he was quickly at her side. When disaster at last overtook her cause, he was one of the three noble-

men who led her from the stricken field of Langside, and brought her in safety to the parish of



Rerrick, whence she left for England, destined never to return.

It is rather a curious fact that the date of Sir William Livingstone's death should be given on his monument as 1607, for, from the Register of the Privy Council, we learn that in 1610 and 1611 there were complaints lodged by him and Dame Margaret Baillie, his spouse, against certain persons for non-payment of sums of money due to them.³

14. LADY BROUGHTON'S MEMORIAL.

In front of Alan's monument in the north transept

³ *Reg. Privy Council*, vol. ix. pp. 19 and 154. "Edin., 24 July, 1610. Complaint by Sir William Levingstoun of Coulter, and dame Margaret Baillie, his spouse, that Johnne, Lord Hereis, remains unrelaxed from a horning of 29th May last for not paying them £132 13s 4d for the duplication of the feu maills of the lands of Kirkpatrick called Touchadam Balsassie—Pursuers appearing by Johnne Maxwell, defender is to be apprehended by the Captain of the Guard for not appearing." "Edin., 4 April, 1611. Complaint by Sir William Levingstoun of Coultir and dame Margaret Baillie, his spouse, factors in rem suam to the gift of pension of the feu maills and duties of the abbacy of Dundrennane, that the following persons remain unrelaxed from hornings of 14th January last executed against them for the causes aftermentioned: viz., Sir David Murray of Clonyaird for not paying the complainers £19 for the teind duty of the 40 s. land of Barlakow for the year 1609, with £4 13s 4d for the feu maills of the said lands for 1610; David Murray, elder, called of Clonyaird, for not paying them £64 as the price of 12 bolls of teind meal for the year 1608, and £60 as the price of other 12 bolls of meal for 1609; and Johnne Mure, of Cassincarie, for not paying them £35 13s 4d as the feu maills of his lands within the barony of Ferrie for 1610.—Pursuers appearing by Archibald Douglas, decree as above against the defenders for not appearing."

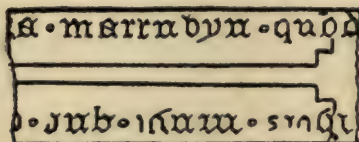
there lies upon the ground a flat stone bearing the following inscription in Roman letters:—

ELIZABETH · VANS · SOMETIME · LADY ·
BROUGHTOVN · QWHAV · DEPARTED ·
THIS HIR ·
AGE 63.

The stone is very much worn. Traces of a shield are visible on the upper part with the letters E W on one side of it.

15. OTHER MEMORIALS.

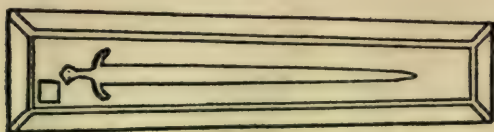
Among the fragments of abbey stones preserved,



one or two exhibit lettering upon them but not sufficient to make anything intelligible out of them. Of one of these, 30 inches by 14 inches, a drawing is given, some of the letters being slightly damaged. Probably it is to this monument that the Rev. William Robb, Tongland, refers in a letter to General Hutton⁴ of date 13th January, 1789, in the course of which he says that in searching the ruins he had

⁴ Hutton Manuscripts, Advocates' Library, Paper 35.

found the monument of the wife of John Murray who got a grant of the abbey and lands from James VI. The identification of the monument, however, seems hardly justified.



A well-preserved grave-slab with bevelled edges, 5 feet 2 inches in length, and 16 inches in breadth at top and 10 at bottom, is erected against the wall at the west end of the south aisle of the nave. There is nothing on it save a knight's sword and a small square or book in the upper dexter corner.

Among the stones placed along the wall in this south aisle there are two with shields engraven on them; the first is that of Stewart of Garlies, the arms being, Or, a fess chequy of four rows Azure and Argent surmounted of a bend engrailed Gules;



and the second is a Maxwell shield, the arms being, Argent, a saltire Sable. Mention may be made here also of a stone, 33 inches by 10 inches, built into the coach-house at Rerrick Manse. It bears upon it three shields: (1) The shield of Walter, the High Steward, his arms being, Or, a fess chequy Azure and Argent. (2) The shield of John Balliol, the successful claimant for the Crown, his arms being, Gules, an orle Argent. (3) The shield of Maclellan of Bomby, his arms being, Or, two chevrons Sable.



In the cottage of High Barend in Rerrick parish there is built in over the fireplace an old abbey memorial, 6 feet long by 2 feet broad, which is adorned once again in its full length with a knight's sword.

16. SEALS.

In Kirkcudbright Museum is the only existing seal of the abbot of Dundrennan. It was found some years ago in Rerrick parish at Mullock, which once formed part of the lands belonging to the abbey. It is made from a smooth water-worn

pebble, 2 inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. The actual seal itself, which is oval-shaped, is a little more than an inch in length and about five-eighths of an inch in breadth. Round the border runs the inscription:—

✱ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE DVNDRAYNAN

Except the inscription there is nothing on the stone, the centre being totally unadorned and quite



smooth. It is not at all improbable that this may have been the earliest seal used in the abbey, its plainness being quite characteristic of Cistercian simplicity in its earlier period. The seal may have been discarded when the more elaborate seals described below came to be adopted.

In the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey there is preserved the impress of a seal of the abbot of Dundrennan. In the centre is a full-length figure of an abbot, apparently mitred, standing on a figure or corbel, with a book in his right hand, and with a crozier in his left, the crook of which is turned outwards. At each side of the figure of the



SEAL IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.



SEAL IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY SEALS

abbot is a rose or cinquefoil. The seal is pointed at each end, and within the marginal border there is an inscription in all respects identical with that of the seal already described:—

✱ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE DVNDRAYNAN

Hutchison in his *Memorials* assigns the seal to the close of the thirteenth century. The excellent illustration of it which we give is from a cast in the possession of Mr W. Rae Macdonald, Edinburgh.

In the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham there is preserved an impression of a counter-seal of Dundrennan. It, too, is pointed and measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length and three-quarters of an inch in breadth. The design in the centre is that of a hand vested, issuing from the dexter, holding a crozier. Other emblems occupying the centre are an estoile of five points (or sun), a star of six points and a crescent moon. The marginal border bears the inscription:—

✱ CONTRA : S' : DE : DVNDRAYNAN

In his *History of Scottish Seals* (vol. ii., p. 85) Dr Walter de Gray Birch assigns the seal to the fourteenth century. The illustration of the seal which we give is, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, from a photograph by Mr C. Hunter Blair.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AND DUNDRENNAN.

ONE cannot altogether leave the old order of things which passed away with the dissolution of the monasteries, and with the overthrow of Roman Catholic predominance in this country, without a brief reference to the visit of Queen Mary to Dundrennan, which took place at the very close of the abbey's history. Considering the comparative shortness of her residence in Scotland, it is remarkable how many places can claim association with the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots. But surely there are few that are of such pathetic interest as the parish of Rerrick, which witnessed her final departure from her ancestral kingdom. No one can withhold from Mary some measure of sympathy when account is taken of her early upbringing and life, and of the crisis in Scottish history that synchronised with her reign. Whether she was more sinned against than sinning is a question in regard to which there will always be radical difference of opinion. At any rate, her marriage

with Bothwell was the last test that tried the loyalty of many. Arms were taken up against her, and the Queen was compelled to surrender. Forthwith she was lodged as a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven, and soon thereafter she had to sign a deed of demission in favour of her son, the infant-prince James. Negotiations for her release came to nothing, and for almost eleven months Mary endured the misery of imprisonment in Lochleven. Suddenly the country was startled with news of the Queen's escape. Lochleven had been regarded as an absolutely safe place, for the reason that the lady of Lochleven was the Regent Moray's own mother. Particular precautions, moreover, were taken by the custodians to guard against escape. But Love finds many loopholes: and George Douglas (commonly called "Prettie Geordie"), the youngest son of the lady of Lochleven, and the half-brother of the Regent himself, being "in fantasy of love wythe hir," as many others had been with the hapless young Queen, contrived to accomplish what the negotiations of statesmen had failed to effect. On the evening of Sunday, the 2nd of May, 1568, when the family were at supper, William Douglas (called "Willie the Foundling," whose exact position in the household is not quite known—a page or an adopted child) abstracted the keys of the Queen's apartments and of the outer gates of the castle from

the place where they were kept. The Queen's door was unlocked, and securely shut again from the other side. George Douglas was in waiting to receive the Queen when she had been speedily rowed in a boat to the opposite shore. Lord Seaton (who chiefly had been taken into confidence) was also there, in readiness with ten swift horses to convey the fugitive away. First they made for Queensferry, then Niddrie, where they halted for two hours, then on to Hamilton. The news of her escape was everywhere hailed with delight by her adherents. There was an instant rally to her side. In a few days she was holding court at Hamilton, and she had a fighting body of 6500 men around her. A bond was drawn up and signed at Hamilton on 8th May, the signatories promising to defend their Queen against her "disobedient and unnatural subjects"; and among others who signed were the Abbot of Dundrennan, the Lords Herries and Maxwell, Gordon of Lochinvar, Maclellan of Bomby—indeed, the great majority of the leading men in the south-west were supporters of her cause. But the Queen could not remain at Hamilton, and it was determined to seek greater security in Dumbarton Castle. The Regent Moray, however, had not been idle while Mary was holding court at Hamilton. He, too, had gathered together a force, and, though it was smaller than Mary's, he determined to oppose

her when she made her move on Dumbarton. On the 13th of May her army advanced, but at Langside it met with irretrievable disaster. Moray had established his musketeers and archers in the ditches, behind the hedges, and within the houses of the village, and the disposition not less than the valour of his force proved successful in the routing of the enemy. When Mary saw that fortune had gone against her she retired in precipitate haste, accompanied by a few faithful followers. It was to Galloway they directed their flight, and ultimately to Dundrennan itself. The route which was followed is now generally supposed to be that described by Lord Herries.¹ "So soone," he writes, "as the Queen saw the day lost, she was carried from the field by the Lords Herreis, Fleming, and Livistoune. Prettie George Douglas and William the Fundlin escapt also with the Queen. She rode all night, and did not halt untill she came to the Sanquhir. From thence she went to Terregles, the Lord Herreis hous, where she rested some few dayes, and then, against her friends advyce, she resolved to goe to England, and commit herselfe to the protection of Queen Elisabeth; in hopes, by her assistance, to be repossessed again in her kingdome. So she imbarked at a creek neer Dundrennan, in Gallo-

¹ *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots*, p. 103.

way, and carried the Lord Herreis to attend her with his counsel; and landed at Cockermouth, in Cumberland. Heer she stayed, and sent the Lord Herreis to Londone, in hopes to be receaved with honor." It should be noted that the Lord Herries who gives this account is not he who fled with Mary, but one of his immediate successors in the title; but it is manifest that he must have had materials at hand for constructing his history, and in the main we are justified in accepting his account as correct.² Yet it is doubtful whether, as he asserts, Mary stayed "some few dayes" at Terregles. It was only three days altogether from the time of her defeat till she was out of the kingdom; and however loyal to her Herries was, Terregles could not be regarded as a place of absolute security. The probability is that she moved on towards Dundrennan with little delay. Whether she passed the last night of her residence in Scotland within the monastery (as is commonly asserted) or lodged in a house in its vicinity must remain a matter of dispute. A short *History of Dundrennan Abbey* was published by McDiarmid in 1839, in which the writer gives a circumstantial account of the Queen's passing the night outside the abbey. In telling his story he declares that it had never appeared in print before,

² The *Memoirs* were not published till 1836.

and he assures his readers that it was not hazarded on slight authority. His testimony is the more valuable inasmuch as he was quite aware of the tradition of Mary's spending her last night in the abbey. "From whatever motive," he says, "a lodging was provided in a private house, which, at the period alluded to, was occupied by the ancestor of the late Mrs Anderson of Stroquhan. In the family the Queen observed a fine little boy, who attracted her attention to such a degree, that she requested he might be allowed to sleep with her during the night; and it was his lot to share the caresses of majesty and beauty united, unconscious as he might be of the honour thus acquired. . . . Before departing from the creek from which she embarked, she acknowledged her sense of the kindness received by leaving behind a valuable ring and rich damask table-cloth, which formed part of her slender luggage, both of which bore the royal arms." Mackenzie gives the story independently of the previous writer, informing us in addition that the house was Hazlefield, and declaring that he also had seen the ring and the table-cloth.⁴

The whole circumstances surrounding Mary's stay at Dundrennan are somewhat obscure. A contem-

³ Pp. 7, 8.

⁴ *History of Galloway*, i. 508. Hazlefield was occupied by a member of the Maxwell family, a relative of Lord Herries.

porary *Historie of King James the Sext*⁵ asserts that "she during her remanying at Dundrenan sent a messinger to the Queyne of Ingland, desyring hir pasport, to pas throw that cuntrie in France, whilk immediatlie was granted: And the Queyn of Ingland thairwithall sent to the Queyn of Scotland a fayre dyamont ring, in a takin of freyndship, as the use of that cuntrie is." That Mary should have communicated with Elizabeth asking for permission to pass into England may be readily granted. But that a messenger should have visited the Queen of England and should have returned to Dundrennan bearing "a fayre dyamont ring" from her as a token of friendship seems out of the question. There was not time for such a lengthy return journey to be undertaken. We know for certain that Mary passed over to England on the afternoon of the 16th of May, not more than three days after the Langside defeat. It seems probable therefore that on her arrival at Dundrennan she entered into communication with Queen Elizabeth. Indeed, the letter which she is said to have sent "from Dundrennan" on the 15th contains the following appeal: "I am now forced out of my kingdom and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness."⁶ And if there was any

⁵ Bannatyne Club Edition, p. 27.

⁶ There is some doubt as to the authenticity of this letter. It does not appear among the State papers.

exchange of a diamond ring it is more in reason to believe that it was Mary who sent back to Elizabeth a ring which she had previously received from the English Queen in token of friendship. The sight of this ring with its pledge of friendship, and the receipt of her letter would, Mary believed, secure for her from Elizabeth the succour she desired. But, before there was any time for receiving an answer to her communication, other supporters had arrived at Dundrennan, bringing with them the latest particulars of the fight. On hearing from them of the state of affairs she resolved without delay to cast herself on Elizabeth's mercy. This determination was contrary to her supporters' wishes. "The Nobles of Scotland wha war convenit with hir at Dundranan, understanding hir bent mynd to pas in Ingland, they withstude hir for many reasons. . . . Bot all was in vayne."⁷ So, on the 16th of May, Mary proceeded to carry her resolve into execution. From "a creek neer Dundrennan," as Lord Herries says, she set out for the English coast. This creek is very likely Burnfoot Bay (which is one of three "free ports" in the parish), though the bay which generally is spoken of as that from which the Queen took her departure is Portmary, about half-a-mile to the east of Burnfoot. Indeed, in Portmary Bay a

⁷ *Historie of King James the Sext*, pp. 28, 29.

boulder is still pointed out as that from which the hapless Queen stepped into the fishing-smack which was to bear her away for ever from Scotland. What a sad and dejected company they must have been that day, both those who sailed away and those who bade adieu upon the shore! Only one short fortnight had elapsed since the escape from Lochleven, and now, this Sunday afternoon, Mary is seeking exile! Only three days since, she was cherishing the highest hopes of restoration, with a bodyguard of 6500 trusty men around her, and now her hopes are blasted; she is a fugitive; and with a faithful retinue of about twenty persons, including Lord Claud Hamilton, son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and Lords Herries and Fleming, she is directing her course for Workington,⁸ where she is to arrive about seven o'clock in the evening! Truly, "the contemplative stranger who visits it (Portmary) in the stillness of evening is apt to imagine that the waves fall here with a more mournful dash upon the shore, and that the cadence of the autumn wind is more low and melancholy than elsewhere, as if Nature's self were conscious of and lamented the unhappy event she had seen take place upon the spot."⁹ Poor creature! Do we remember that she was only twenty-six years of age when this crisis in

⁸ Not Cockermouth, as asserted by Lord Herries.

⁹ *New Statistical Account*, p. 360.

her fortunes was reached, and that already her life had been so full of incident and mystery that a whole literature has grown up around her name?

It is not our purpose to continue her story further, except to note the destitute condition in which she arrived in England, as described by Lowther in a letter to Cecil written two days after. "Hir grace's attyer is verie meane, and, as I can learne, hath not any better, neither other wherewith to change."¹⁰ Soon thereafter she was conducted from Workington to the Castle of Carlisle, from which she wrote to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, beseeching his assistance in her sorry plight, and giving this pathetic account of her recent experiences:—"I have endured injuries, calumnies, imprisonment, famine, cold, heat, flight not knowing whither, ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or alighting, and then I have had to sleep upon the ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female in this country, where, to crown all, I am little else than a prisoner."¹¹ A prisoner! Yes, and for eighteen years longer, when her fateful career ended in the tragedy of Fotheringhay. What the anguish of spirit and the weariness

¹⁰ *Cal. of Scot. Papers*, ii. 410.

¹¹ The quotation is from Dr. D. Hay Fleming's *Mary, Queen of Scots*, p. 175.

ness of life must have been to her may be gathered from this touching prayer, said to have been written by her in a book of devotions just shortly before her execution—

“O Domine Deus ! speravi in Te :
O care mi Jesu ! nunc libera me.
In dura catena, in misera pœna, desidero Te.
Languendo, gemendo, et genuflectendo,
Adoro, imploro, ut liberes me !”

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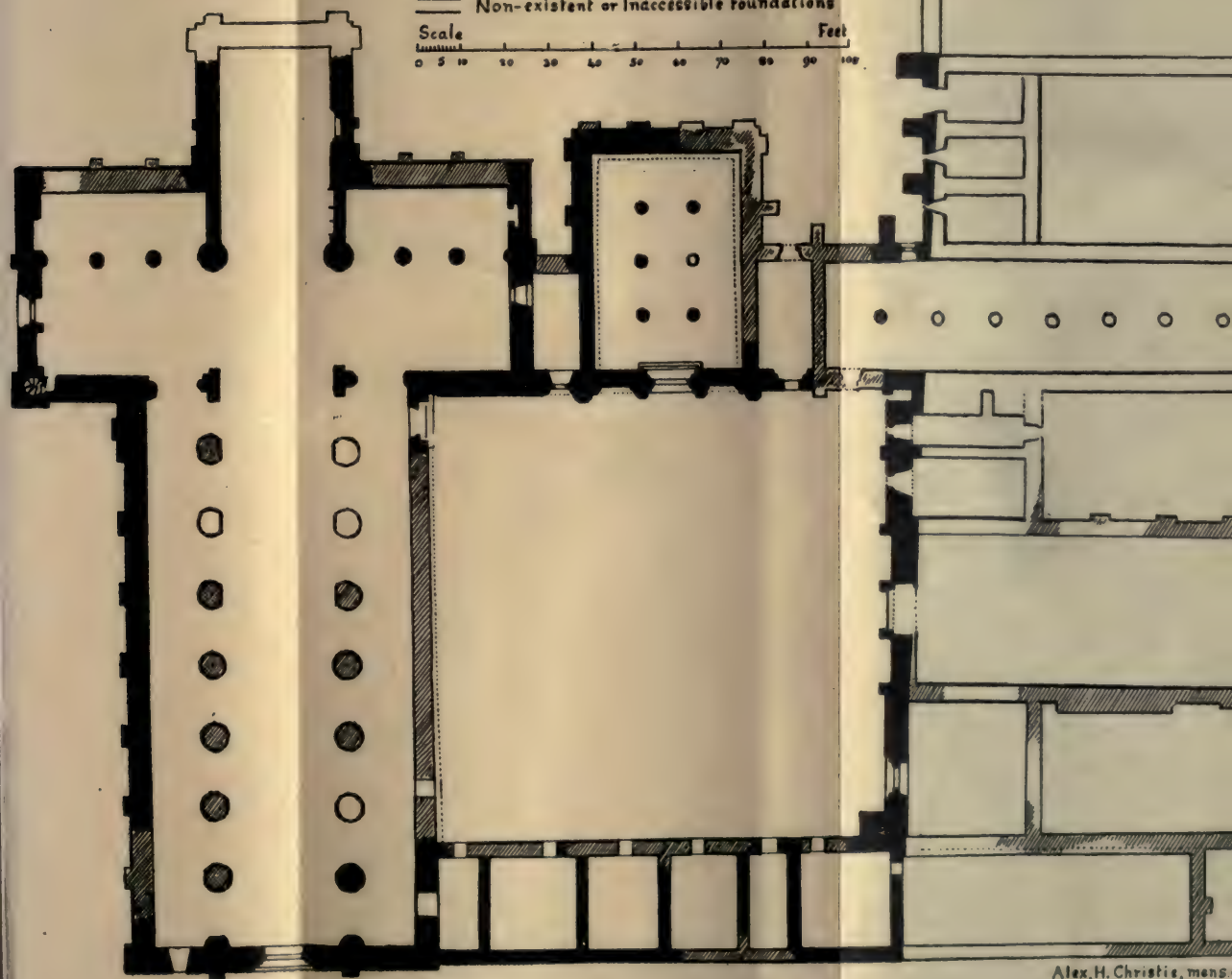
Original Walls above Ground Level

Foundations, in part built upon

Non-existent or Inaccessible Foundations

Scale

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet



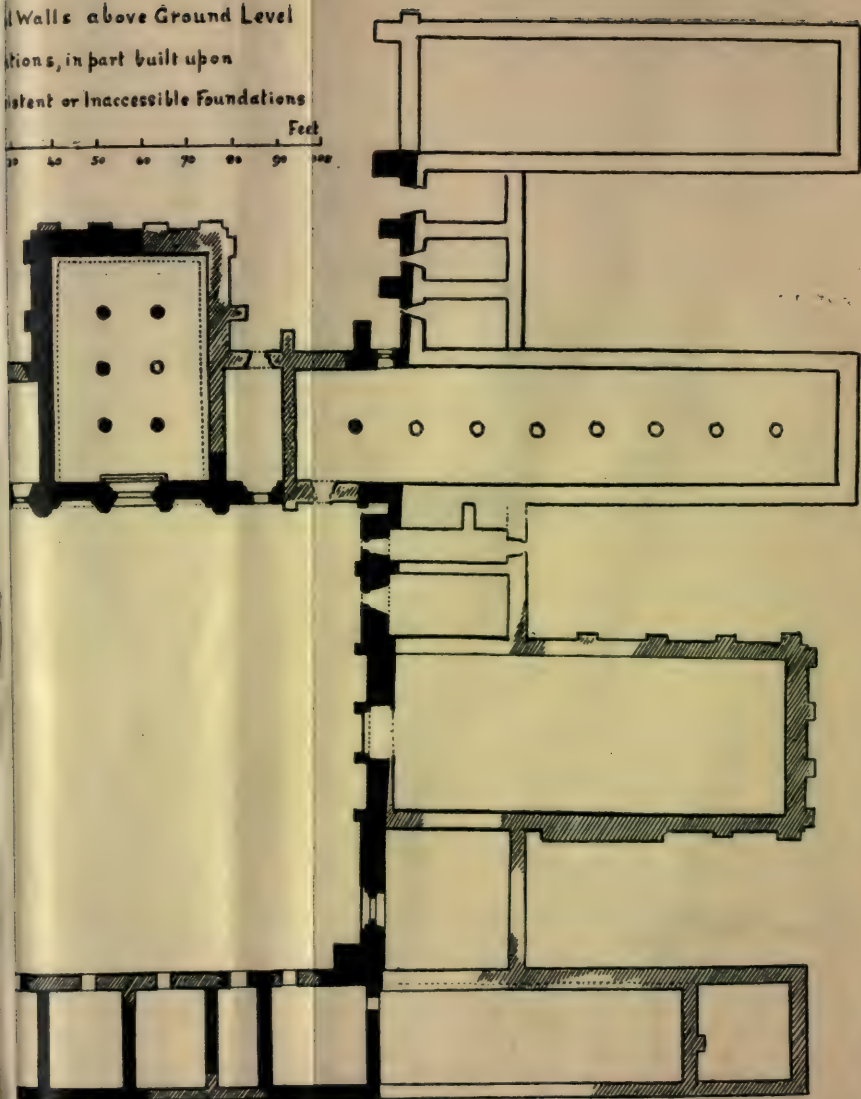
Alex. H. Christie, mens.

GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN

Walls above Ground Level
 tions, in part built upon
 istent or inaccessible Foundations

Feet

30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

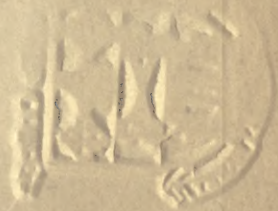


Alex. H. Christie, mens. et del. 1913.

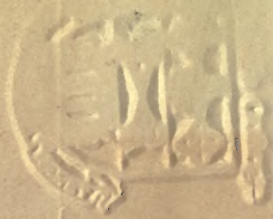
OF THE ABBEY OF DUNDRENNAN

1854





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